Vol. VIII., No. 29 *March, 1919*

STUDIES

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AUDITOR:

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY, ESQ., Chartered Accountant, 46 Dame Street.

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REPORT

Submitted to the Shareholders at their Ordinary General Meeting held on **Monday, the 27th day of January, 1919.**

The Directors submit herewith the Statement of Accounts for the half-year ending 31st December, 1918.

After providing for rebate on bills, interest on deposits, and bad and doubtful debts, the net profits for the half-year amount to	£32,033 3 0
To which has to be added:—	
Balance of undivided profits from last Account	5,158 16 0
	£37,191 19 0
The Directors have transferred to the Reserve Fund the sum of	£10,000 0 0
And they recommend that the balance be applied as follows, viz.:—	
In payment of a dividend for the half-year at the rate of Seven per cent. per annum (subject to deduction of Income Tax)	17,500 0 0
To next Account	9,691 19 0
	£37,191 19 0

The Directors retiring by rotation are MR. MATTHEW JOSEPH MINCH, J.P., and MR. JOHN MURPHY, who, being eligible, offer themselves for re-election.

In conformity with the provisions of the Companies (Consolidation) Act, 1908, it will be necessary for the Shareholders to elect an Auditor for the ensuing year. MR. JEREMIAH BUCKLEY the present Auditor, offers himself for re-election.

By Order o the Board,

ALFRED T COLLINS,
General Manager.

DUBLIN, 14th January, 1919.

THE HIBERNIAN BANK LIMITED.

Dr. BALANCE SHEET, 31st DECEMBER, 1918. Cr.

LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.
To Capital, viz. :—100,000 Shares of £20 each—£2,000,000 ; amount paid up, £5 per Share	500,000	0	0
,, Reserve Fund	140,000	0	0
Deposit, Current, and other Credit Accounts, including Interest due on Deposits	9,048 845	15	10
,, Sundry Agents	4,720	7	1
,, Officers' Superannuation Fund (of which £37,980 9s. 7d. is invested as per contra)	40,700	2	3
Rebate on Bills Discounted not at maturity	5,075	12	7
,, Profit and Loss Account £37,191 19 0			
Less : Transferred to Reserve Fund .. £10,000 0 0			
	27,191	19	0
	£9,766,533	16	9

ASSETS.	£	s.	d
By Cash in hand and with Bankers...	1,120,496	10	1
,, Treasury Bills	1,000,000	0	
,, Investments, viz. :—			
£3,766,200 British Government Securities (War Stocks and Bonds, Consols, Local Loans Stock, and Guaranteed 2½ per cent. Stock)			
£330,000 Indian and Colonial Government Stocks... ...			
£150,000 Canadian Northern Ontario Ry. Co. 3½ per cent. First Mortgage Debenture Stock, 1961 (Guaranteed by the Canadian Government)	4,469,900	0	
£100,000 Grand Trunk Pacific Ry. Co. 3 per cent. First Mortgage Sterling Bonds, 1962 (Guaranteed by the Canadian Government)			
£36,978 Dublin Corporation Stock			
£445,082 Sundry Debenture Stocks, etc.			
	6,590,396	10	1
,, Investment, *a/c* Officers' Superannuation Fund :—£40,000 5 per cent. War Stock, 1929-1947 ...	37,980	9	7
,, Bills Discounted	577,438	8	0
,, Advances on Current Accounts, Loans, etc.	2,380,474	17	6
,, Sundry Agents	38,170	1	2
,, Bank Premises and Furniture (Head Offices and 52 Branches), written down to	142,073	10	5
	£9,766,533	16	9

PROFIT AND LOSS ACCOUNT for Half-year ending 31st December, 1918.

	£	s.	d.
To Expenses of Management, including Directors' Fees, Salaries, Pensions and Allowances, War Bonus and Grants to Staff, Rent and Taxes, Repairs, Income Tax, and all other outlay ...	51,429	4	2
,, Amount transferred to Reserve Fund	10,000	0	0
,, Dividend to be paid in February, 1919, subject to deduction of Income Tax ... £ 17,500 0 0			
,, Balance to next Acct. 9,691 19 0			
	27,191	19	0
	£88,621	3	2

	£	s.	d.
By Balance from last Account ...	5,158	16	0
,, Gross Profits for Half-year, after providing for Rebate on Bills, Interest on Deposits, and Bad and Doubtful Debts	83,462	7	2
	£88,621	3	2

AUDITOR'S REPORT.

I have obtained all the information and explanations I have required in the course of my examination in detail of the foregoing Profit and Loss Account and Balance Sheet.

I have verified the Investments. Those redeemable at par on fixed dates (including the War Stocks and War Bonds) stand in the Balance Sheet at under cost price, and all the other Investments at the market prices current on 31st December, 1918. I have also verified the Cash and Bills in hand at the Head Office.

The Balance Sheet is, in my opinion, properly drawn up so as to exhibit a true and correct view of the state of the Company's affairs according to the best of my information and the explanations given to me, and as shown by the Books of the Company and the Certified Returns from the several Branches.

JEREMIAH BUCKLEY (KEAN & Co.),
Chartered Accountant, Auditor;

DUBLIN, 14th January, 1919.

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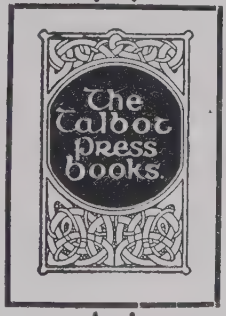

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THE CATHOLIC ORIGIN OF DEMOCRACY.

BY PROFESSOR ALFRED RAHILLY, M.A.

SELF-DETERMINATION and Reconstruction are professedly the ideals of the world to-day. It is not easy to see why these ideals should be confined to the sphere of politics and economics. They are just as urgently needed in the region of ideas. Our history and philosophy, for instance, have hitherto been largely predetermined for us by "experts," not always German, supposed to be endowed with a special immunity from prejudices. It is high time for us Catholics to determine for ourselves our own view of things and to reconstruct those philosophical and historical systems whose imposition we have hitherto meekly accepted.[1]

As one example of such reconstruction, I propose to enumerate, of course without detailed exposition, some factors in the growth of democracy which have been ignored or neglected by those academic authorities who make our history for us. That Catholicism has anything whatever to do with democracy except by way of hostility, is a view which is contemptuously rejected before troubling to examine the evidence. The orthodox thesis is that our democratic ideals are the outcome of the Reformation, especially as embraced by the Anglo-Saxon mind. To avoid a rather obvious retort, this is usually expressed more guardedly: "Modern democracy is the child of the

---

[1] Cf. Mr. Belloc's C.T.S. pamphlet on "Anti-Catholic History: How it is written."

Reformation, not of the Reformers."[1] While professing to be a statement of indisputable fact, this assertion contains an unproved inference. It is implied that, though the Reformers themselves were mostly despots and sycophants or at best aristocrats, the principles which they introduced curiously turned out to be democratic a century or so later. To prove this mysterious evolution of despotism into democracy it would be necessary to show (*a*) that the political principles of Reformers such as Luther, Calvin, Henry VIII. and Elizabeth were really democratic though they were meant to be the reverse, and (*b*) that the principles of Puritans and Whigs were logically and actually derived from the Reformation tenets and were not adroitly purloined from Catholic thinkers. As a matter of fact there has not been the slightest attempt to supply such a proof; instead we are given mere vulgar appeals to Protestant prejudice and English self-conceit.[2] Thus M. Borgeaud magisterially declares that "the principle of the sovereignty of the people, inalienable and imprescriptible, and its realisation in the modern state, belong peculiarly to the Reformation."[3] Whether popular sovereignty existed, in theory or practice, prior to the sixteenth century, M. Borgeaud does not think it worth while to inquire. And for proof of his statement he merely refers us to Hotman, Junius Brutus, John Knox, Buchanan, Milton, Althusius, and Locke. As if the point at issue were not precisely *where* these Calvinists and Whigs got their views, whether they belong "peculiarly" to the Reformation or by way of peculation to Catholicism! But, indeed, has not a Cambridge historian told us that it is unnecessary nowadays to read

[1] C. Borgeaud, *The Rise of Modern Democracy in Old and New England*, 1894, p. 2; G. P. Gooch, *History of English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*, 1898, p. 8.

[2] Dr. Neville Figgis has tried hard to convince himself and others that despotism by divine right was really democratic, inasmuch as it denied the Pope's international authority. I do not think it worth while to refute seriously this practical joke which converts Henry VIII. and James I. into far-seeing democrats.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

the Catholic books whence the Puritans fetched their politics? "Of any independent and disinterested belief in the sovereignty of the people or in the wider principles of liberalism," says Mr. Gooch,[1] "we may acquit the heated spirits of the sixteenth and seventeenth century Ultramontanes. The reference, implicit where not explicit, to sectarian interests paralyses the effectiveness of the plea." Precisely; a Cambridge Don need not trouble to listen to or argue with Catholics; it is sufficient to "paralyse" them with abuse. Call them dependent, partisan, illiberal, ultramontane, sectarian; and if they do not refer at all to their "sect," well, say that there is an implicit reference! This procedure saves quite a lot of research. It appears subsequently that Mr. Gooch has no objection to the heated spirit of John Knox or the sectarian interests of Samuel Rutherford, it is only Catholics who are "acquitted," *i.e.*, boycotted.

The whole process by which democracy is smuggled into history books as an acquisition of the Reformation, especially of the English Reformation, is a combination of flippancy and bigotry. The most superficial examination of the religious and secular revolution known as the Reformation will show that it was radically anti-democratic. The Reformers themselves varied their political principles to suit circumstances. Thus, when it suited him, Luther could write that "all who help, all who risk life, goods and honour, to destroy bishoprics and extirpate the rule of bishops are God's dear children and true Christians." "What fitter fate could befal bishops and monasteries," he asked, "than to be wiped off the earth

[1] *Hist. of Dem. Ideas*, p. 28. Cf. Scherger, *Evolution of Modern Liberty*, 1904, p. 114: "A number of Jesuits arrived at the same views as the French Protestants, but their *purpose* in publishing them was a different one. While the latter employed the idea of the sovereignty of the people in a war of self-defence, the Jesuits used it to debase the State in contrasting it with the divinely instituted Church." I feel perfectly certain that Mr. Scherger never in his life read a line of any Jesuit work. All this vulgar tirade against their "purpose," which modern writers appear to see by second sight, is simply a cloak for incompetence and ignorance.

by a powerful revolution ? "[1] But when the revolution came a little too powerfully, Luther, himself the son of a peasant, was the most savage and brutal opponent of the peasants. "Anybody may act both as judge and executioner of a rioter," he wrote in his pamphlet *Against the Thieving Murderous Bands of Peasants* (May, 1525); "whoever can should smite, strangle or stab, secretly or publicly."[2] Luther at heart was conservative and despotic; he upheld the absolute power of princes, to whom he held out the bribe of spiritual authority and monastic spoils.[3] His occasional apparently revolutionary outbursts are simply personal diatribes against his opponents. For the people he had a profound contempt. "Rulers," he says,[4] "are to drive, beat, choke, hang, burn, behead, break upon the wheel, the vulgar masses—*Herr Omnes*." Modern democracy is the child neither of Luther nor of Lutheranism.

To tell the truth, reliance is placed rather on Calvin than on Luther. But when analysed, the political liberalism of Calvin turns out to be rather meagre. It is all contained in one short commonplace paragraph of his *Institutes*,[5] and Calvinists have had perforce to eke out the tenuity of evidence by frequency of quotation. Calvin's own ideas are best inferred from his government of Geneva. The aristocratic régime established under him reduced the powers of the popular assembly and lasted until the democratic reaction of 1707; torture was freely applied, Servetus and Gruet were put to death for heresy, during three months of 1545 there were thirty-four executions for sedition.[6] No doubt, tyrannicide—without the careful

[1] *Werke* (Weimar), 10 (2), p. 111. Cf. his views on tyrannicide in his Table Talk—*Werke* (Erlangen), 62, pp. 201 ff.

[2] *Werke* (Weimar) 18, 357. This pamphlet, says Rev. H. T. Andrews (*Christ and Civilization*, 1910, p. 342), "is a disgrace—there is no other word for it—to literature, to say nothing of religion."

[3] Cf. his letter (1526) to Elector John of Saxony—*Werke* (Erlangen) 53, 386.

[4] *Werke* (Erlangen) 15 (2), 276.

[5] *Institutes*, iv., 20, 31.

[6] Fazy, *Les constitutions de la république de Genève*, 1870.

safeguards of Catholic theologians (even Mariana)—was openly taught; Jean Poltrot, for instance, after being executed for the murder of the Duke of Guise (1563) was placed in the martyrology of the Church of Geneva. But theories of tyrannicide, whether held by Huguenots or Ligueurs, are rather a test of politico-religious passion than a criterion of democracy. It will hardly be maintained nowadays that the murder of Cardinal Beaton, the "faithful admonition" to shed "the blood of abominable idolators" (*i.e.*, Catholics) and the "blast of the trumpet against the monstrous regiment of women" entitle John Knox to be regarded as a pioneer of democracy.[1]

It may be said in general, without fear of contradiction, that the greatest increase of royal power in Europe dates from the Reformation.[2] As a political movement the Reformation can be fairly described as the addition of papal power to regal, leading to despotism by divine right, the destruction of the political and social influence of the Church, and the consequent creation of bureaucracy, militarism and capitalism. This is particularly evident in the English Reformation, that is, in the secular and religious revolution effected chiefly by Thomas Cromwell in the decade 1530-1540, and subsequently perfected by Elizabeth and her minister Burleigh. The political theory underlying this change is to be found not in the Bible but in Machiavelli's *Prince*. That Cromwell, who had spent

[1] It is amusing to observe the delight with which contemporary sciolists hail as original discoveries such commonplace ideas as the Reformers borrowed from the Schoolmen. Thus: "Melanchthon . . . deserves the credit of having introduced the conception of natural law into modern thought."—Scherger, *op. cit.*, p. 37. As even the Protestant Lang admits (*Calvin and the Reformation*, 1909, p. 92), "natural law with all its political consequences must . . . be regarded, despite its beginnings in antiquity, as a thoroughly Catholic product."

[2] The exceptions are only apparent. No doubt, religious difference stiffened the old insurrectional spirit of the Netherlands against the tyrant Philip II.; in this the people were true to the spirit of old Brabant. Federal Germany profited by the Reformation to shake off the imperial tutelage of Charles V.; but it broke up into petty tyrannies, the absolutism of Prussia and Saxony being especially pronounced. Even the régime of Louis XIV. was the reaction against the Huguenot wars and intrigues.

many years in Italy, not only had a copy of the book but treasured it as "a short discourse of an experienced person, more to the purpose than whole volumes of the philosophers, . . . which laid down maxims and observances of which daily experience confirmed the truth," we learn from Cardinal Pole.[1] Apart from such evidence, the strongest evidence of Machiavelli's influence is the fact that the *Prince* is the best commentary not only on Cromwell's policy but on the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth.

"That Cromwell's ecclesiastical policy [says Professor Alison Phillips[2]] was dictated by motives of zeal for evangelical religion or sympathy with persecuted truth, is a view which may appeal to some minds; but in the light of available evidence it is far more probable that the reforming tendencies of the day were merely used by him, in the true Machiavellian spirit, to further the object which he consistently kept in view—the consolidation of an absolute royal power under the forms of a constitution, by the aid of a subservient parliament and a terrorised church."

A similar judgment is passed on Cromwell by his latest historian:—[3]

"He read and studied his Machiavelli so that it was a guide to his future political career. . . . He totally disregarded the justness or morality of any action; its utility was for him its morality and created its justification. . . . It was precisely from the same practical utilitarian standpoint that he regarded and made use of to his own ends the King's amours, the suppression of the monasteries, the Reformation. . . . Such was the man who for the next ten years was to have almost the sole guidance of the course of English history."

---

[1] *Apologia ad Carolum Quintum*, c. 29; M. Haile, *Life of Reg. Pole*, 1910, pp. 56f. *Il Principe*, though written in 1513-14, was not published until 1532. As the interview between Pole and Cromwell took place 1527-29, Cromwell must have had one of the numerous manuscript copies which were in circulation. Cf. P. Villari, *Life and Times of N. Machiavelli*, ii., 186.

[2] *Nineteenth Century*, Dec., 1896, p. 908.

[3] R. Merriman, *Life and Letters of Thomas Cromwell*, 1902, i., 85f.

Did space permit, the influence of Machiavelli could be traced much further, not only in Cromwell but in Elizabeth and Burleigh. But even in face of the evidence adduced we may well ask with some astonishment how "modern democracy is the child of the Reformation." It might perhaps be contended that, however equivocal in its origin, the Reformation ultimately developed into a great movement for religious and political liberty. Now this "development," though by no means as complete as worshippers of English parliamentarianism would have us believe, is an admitted fact. The point at issue is whether those democratic principles which are usually associated with the Puritans and Whigs were due to a logical development of specifically Reformation tenets, or whether they were the result of a reversion to pre-Reformation teaching. I have already shown negatively how impossible it is to deduce any real democracy from the principles of the early Reformers. I propose now to prove positively that even in Protestant England as well as in America the true historical source of democracy lies in the institutions and doctrines of the Catholic Church. For this purpose it would be sufficient to consider representative political thinkers from Hooker, Buchanan and Milton to Locke and Algernon Sidney, and to show how dependent they are on Catholic canonists, legists and schoolmen. But it is even more interesting to note that widespread ideals such as were embodied in the Scottish Covenanters, the English Levellers, and the American Puritans, were directly derived from pre-Reformation democracy. The seventeenth century witnessed a reaction against the Protestant theory and practice of despotism *jure divino* and a return—unfortunately only partly successful—to the medieval ideas of natural rights, popular sovereignty, liberties of municipal and corporate bodies. And the twentieth century is manifesting a further re-adaptation of those political ideas which the Reformation

discarded.[1] The only important factor in pre-Reformation political adjustment which the modern world has definitely refused to reintroduce—papal international arbitration and guidance—we are now attempting to recreate by a rather dubious League of Nations.

To say that democracy is the child of Catholicism sounds far-fetched and paradoxical. But could we clear away the prejudices created by anti-Catholic historians, we should see that it is profoundly true. In the Middle Ages the only corporate entity analogous to a modern State was the Catholic Church—even the Holy Roman Empire was a shadowy ideal. The only representative assemblies were councils and chapters. The only really political thinking which was done was contained in discussions concerning ecclesiastical government, whether in connexion with the claims of Philip the Fair or the disputes at Constance and Basle. The institutions and the mentality which constitute modern democracy are a heritage from medieval churchmen.

The forerunners and models of our democratic assemblies were those mixed councils or conventions of ecclesiastics and laymen which determined religious discipline and social policy. They were customary in Spain from the middle of the seventh century, and assumed a special importance in France towards the end of the tenth century. Thus in 989 there was held a council at the monastery of Charroux, in Poitou (then much infested by brigands); it was presided over by the archbishop of Bordeaux and attended not only by the bishops of the province, clerics and religious, but also by "the faithful of both sexes." The most famous of such assemblies was the Council of Clermont (1095), attended by archbishops,

[1] Of course I mean no impossible reversion to medievalism. But one cannot fail to realise that contemporary democratic thinking is reverting to Catholic ideas of the State, the rights of associations, the dignity of personality, &c. Contrast, for instance, Cole's *Self-government in Industry*, 1917 (ch. 3: The Nature of the State), with the hitherto dominant ideal of bureaucratic collectivism.

bishops, abbots, religious and laymen of different countries.[1] In fact the councils which established Pacts of Peace and enacted the Truce of God were in reality great popular assizes which laymen and even women attended. The social and political influence of such corporate action, under the initiative and tutelage of the Church, has never been sufficiently acknowledged. Not only did these diocesan assemblies accustom the people to joint action by mutual pact and deliberate agreement, in defence of liberty and justice,[2] but the resulting parish organisations, maintained by voluntary tribute, evolved into the system of local liberties which upheld the king against feudal chieftains and thus founded what we know as the modern State. The word "commune," before designating a municipality, meant the diocesan or even parochial association of peace; indeed in the twelfth century the word *pax* was often used as synonymous with *communia*. It is to the Church that we owe the communes and consequently the House of Commons.

In another way, too, the organisation of the Church served the cause of democracy by introducing the idea of representation. In Spain as early as the sixth century we find deputies of chapters appearing in Councils. And it is in Spain that the Church is most clearly discerned to have been the pioneer of representative democracy. The Cortes owes its origin to the Councils of Toledo (containing nobles as well as clergy), which were so powerful during the last century and a quarter of Visigothic rule and survived the shock of Moorish invasion. In the Christian kingdoms of the north the purely ecclesiastical

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[1] E. Sémichon, *La paix et la trève de Dieu*, 1857, pp. 7, 110.

[2] Cf. the interesting pronouncement of St. Ives of Chartres (†1116)—*ep.* 135: Quia trevia Dei non est communi lege sancita, pro communi tamen utilitate hominum ex placito et pacto civitatis ac patriae, episcoporum et ecclesiarum, ut nostis, est auctoritate confirmata. Unde iudicia pacis violatae modificari oportet secundum pacta et definitiones quas unaquaeque ecclesia consensu parochianorum instituit. This shows us not only the initiative of the Church but also the extent of local self-determination and democratic education involved in such "social contracts."

functions began to pass to special clerical assemblies. And thus in eleventh century Leon, Castile and Aragon there emerged the first representative parliaments (based on the principle of states or orders) to replace the primary assemblies of antiquity. Moreover, already in the twelfth century we find town-representatives in the assemblies of Spain, Sicily and Gascony; whereas the English boroughs were first represented in the Parliament of 1265. Democracy is evidently not a peculiar product of the Anglo-Saxon mind.[1]

But if democratic government owes its inception to the Councils, it owes much of its perfection to the Friars. Even the older Military Orders, such as the Hospitallers, whose rule was confirmed in 1120, were concrete instances of popular sovereignty, inasmuch as legislative and disciplinary supremacy was vested in the General Chapter, which delegated authority to the Grand Master and subordinate officers. The Friars, however, not only exercised enormous influence on the public opinion of Europe and threw their weight on the side of liberty—they were strong supporters of Simon de Montfort—but carried the representative system to a development which it has not even yet reached in the secular State. Ever since the thirteenth century the Dominican Order has possessed an elaborate system of representative government which has left its mark on English constitutional history.[2] In the Dominican Constitution of 1228 we find the first explicit assertion and enactment of constitutional principles, some of which waited six centuries before being adopted (or imitated) by

[1] Except perhaps the idea of parliamentary absolutism. The *procuradores* of a Spanish city received credentials and letters of instruction (*poderes*), and for subjects outside these they were bound to refer again to their constituents; that is, they were merely delegates.

[2] The Dominicans arrived in England in 1221. Fr. Bede Jarrett (Clayton, *Leaders of the People*, 1910, p. 129) first suggested Dominican influence on Simon de Montfort, who in 1245 founded a Dominican priory at Leicester; and two years before the Parliament of 1265 he was present at the General Chapter held in Holborn. The elder de Montfort had been an intimate friend of St. Dominic. See E. Barker, *The Dominican Order and Convocation*, 1913.

secular States. A few of these may be enumerated: (1) All authority is ultimately vested in representatives elected by local communities. (2) There is practically complete self-determination—the convent elects its prior, the province its provincial, the order its general. (3) There is a clear distinction between constitutional and legislative enactments; any new constitutional measure must for validity be re-enacted by three successive chapters or else be passed in a special constituent assembly (*capitulum generalissimum* only held twice, in 1228 and 1236). (4) Federalism is combined with autonomy; the general, provincial and conventual chapters and priors form a gradation of international, national, and local legislatives and executives.[1] To translate a religious rule into terms savouring of Westminster or Versailles will of course sound rather whimsical to modern ears. But it would not be so incongruous in an age when the Friars were the greatest intellectual and moral force in Europe, and when politics was not yet secularised and insulated.[2] Thus William of Ockham, who was an Englishman, a political writer and a friar, juxtaposes Order and State[3]:—

"The king is superior to the whole kingdom, and yet in certain cases he is inferior to it, for in case of necessity the kingdom can

[1] The Franciscan spirit was even more democratic than the Dominican, but St. Francis had not the organising genius of St. Dominic. The Franciscans at first tried direct democracy, the last of the primary assemblies of all the brethren being held in 1221, when 5,000 were present. The rule of 1221 contained what might be termed a "declaration of rights"—*e.g.*, a friar was authorised to disobey a minister who commanded anything against the "life." After bearing with Brother Elias for nine years, the Franciscans (1239-40) restricted the General's powers and introduced representative institutions on the Dominican model.

[2] The political influence of a religious order would be analogous to the influence of present-day trade-union or industrial organisation on political constitution. There is a curious example of the converse influence. Influenced by the direct democracy which since the 13th century has existed in the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland, Rittinghausen and Considérant (1851) wrote in favour of "direct legislation by the people." It was their pamphlets which secured the introduction of the referendum into the Typographical Union in 1861. Thus the trade-union ballot was inspired by Catholic Switzerland. (f. Deploige, *The Referendum in Switzerland*, 1898, pp. 35-42.

[3] *Octo quaestiones*, ii., 7 (Goldast, *Monarchia*, ii., 341).

depose and imprison him. This follows from natural law, just as force may be met by force. So also in many religious orders the head is superior to all the brethren of his order and yet in certain cases the general chapter is superior to the head and can dismiss him."

The exact parity between discussions concerning church organisation and political theory is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in the conciliar theory which agitated Europe from the days of Philip the Fair (†1314) right down to the Reformation, which became especially urgent at the time of the Councils of Constance (1414-1418) and Basle (1431—). This great dispute is associated with such names as Marsilius of Padua, Ockham, Gerson, Nicholas of Cusa, Antonius de Rosellis, Aeneas Sylvius. The terminology and distinctions evolved in its course reappear in the writings of Covenanters and Puritans.[1] The very theory itself returns, broken into small change, in Congregationalism. "Even those who deny the continuity of political thought," says Dr. Neville Figgis, "will be hard put to it to set aside the evidence which connects the Whigs with the Jesuits and the Huguenots and through them with John Major and Almain, and so back to Basel and Constance."[2] Just as the old gloss[3] of Johannes Teutonicus (†1220) on Gratian's *Decretum*—"what touches all must be approved by all"—was transferred from matters of faith and ecclesiastical councils to secular politics ("no taxation without representation"), so the discussions concerning the relations of community, council and pope were equally applicable to people, parliament and king. Indeed, most of the disputants

[1] The reissue of many of the treatises by Goldast, *e.g.* his *Monarchia* (Hanover 1611-14, Francfort, 1621-30), undoubtedly had a great but hitherto unnoticed influence on English and Scotch seventeenth century political thought and action.

[2] *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, 13 (1899), 105. As a matter of fact, the filiation of ideas can be shown to be much more direct. Also if we accept the statistics of attendance at Constance (18,000 prelates, 2,400 nobles, and 80,000 laymen), its immediate influence as a stimulus to political thought (theories of human polity) must have been enormous.

[3] Gloss on *Decretum*, p. 1, d. 66, c. 1; and p. 1, d. 96, c. 4.

simply wrote politics apart from any historical or theological data, and treated the Church as a purely natural community. As Cajetan pointed out:

"The authority of the church-community over the pope by natural law is established by the consideration that the community is complete and free and has the functions of providing itself with a prince, of protecting itself against him when he uses his power harmfully, of forcing, punishing and removing him when he so deserves."[1]

The political implications of such reasoning are perfectly obvious. The Church is adduced merely as a particular human polity to whose structure and government this general analysis is applicable. "*Every* people, community or body," Ockham declared,[2] "which can legislate for itself without the consent or authority of any outsider, can, without further authorisation, elect members to represent the whole community or body." Nicholas of Cusa is still more explicit:—

"*Every* constitution [he says[3]] is rooted in natural law and cannot be valid if it contradicts it. . . . Since all are free by nature, *all* government, whether by written law or a prince, is based solely on the agreement and consent of the subject. For if by nature men are equally powerful and free, true and ordered power in the hands of one can be established only by the election and consent of the others, just as law also is established by consent. . . . It is clear, therefore, that the binding validity of all constitutions is based on tacit or express agreement and consent."

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[1] *De auctoritate papae et concilii*, ii., 1—*Opuscula* (Venice, 1580), i., p. 16*d*. Of course the final argument against all such attempts to reduce the Church to a purely natural society and human polity (taken up once more by Dr. Figgis in order to bolster up the Anglican Branch Theory) is clearly given by Cajetan (*ibid.*, i., 9, page 7*a*): Ratio diversitatis est quia potestas iurisdictionis est a Iesu Christo qui tale statuit regimen.

[2] *Dialogus* (Goldast, ii., 603). He also suggests that a general council could be composed of representatives from the secular parliaments or episcopal councils, themselves elected by mass meetings of parishes or local communities. This is as obviously reminiscent of the friar chapter-system as it is anticipative of the Puritan town-meetings and congregational churches. Nonconformity has been loth to acknowledge its debt to the friars!

[3] *De concordantia catholica*, ii., 14 (*Opera*, Basel, 1565, p. 730).

This was written by the Cardinal Bishop of Brixen three and a half centuries before America declared that governments derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed."[1] Though this view is practically a medieval commonplace, I have confined myself to the conciliarist writers because it is largely from them that the founders of modern democracy drew their inspiration. And, prescinding from certain ecclesiastical applications, this democratic teaching is not only perfectly orthodox but had the all but unanimous adhesion of canonists and theologians.[2]

Another famous dispute must now be mentioned, which although post-Reformation, was a powerful factor in the subsequent political upheavals of England and Scotland.[3] The struggle of the Ligue (first definitely formed in 1576), and the voluminous literary warfare to which it gave rise, provided a veritable armoury for the opponents of Charles I. The political theories of the Monarchomachi (as Barclay designated them) were doubtless inspired by the practical exigencies and alarms created by the prospect of a Huguenot on the throne of France; their pamphlets were usually written with violence and passion. But this is an indictment which is equally valid against Puritans and Whigs, and even more so in the case of contemporary discussions concerning socialism or the

[1] *Cf.* also *ibid.*, iii., 4 (p. 785): Omnis superioritas ordinata ex electiva concordantia spontaneae subiectionis exoritur; et populo illud divinum seminarium . . . inest, ut omnis potestas quae principaliter a Deo est sicut et ipse homo tunc divina censeatur quando per concordantiam communem a subiectis exoritur. Compare also the remarks of Cusanus on majority rule (ii., 15, p. 733), and especially his scheme for secret voting (iii., 38, p. 818).

[2] For instance, the sovereignty of the people is expressly taught by, among others, Almain (†1515), Driedo (†1535), Vitoria (†1546), Major (†1550), Castro (†1558), Covarruvias (†1577), Azpilcueta (†1586), Molina (†1600), Bannez (†1604), Suarez (†1617), Bellarmine (†1621), Leys (†1623). It is typical of our neglect of the later Scholastics that in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* there is no mention of Almain, Driedo or Major.

[3] Conversely one of the strongest reasons for opposing the succession of Henry of Navarre, the Béarnais Huguenot, was the fear of his imitating the Elizabethan persecution of the Catholics. Cf. Labitte, *De la démocratie chez les prédicateurs de la Ligue*, 1866[3], pp. 107*f.*

war. And in any case the fact remains that the writings of Ligueurs such as Rossaeus and Boucher were widely read and quoted in seventeenth century England. It has been asserted, however, that the partisans of the Ligue were themselves borrowing from the Huguenots: "The Jesuits and the Catholic Monarchomachi of the sixteenth century took a leaf from the Calvinistic book of politic theory."[1] To which it may be retorted that it was *only* a leaf—one paragraph of Calvin and a few trivial platitudes of Peter Martyr and Theodore Beza. Except the opportunist advocacy of tyrannicide—which was precipitately dropped when Mary Stuart was got out of the way and when the last of the Valois (the Duke of Alençon), after joining the Ligue, died without issue—the Calvinists merely repeated, and sometimes unfortunately distorted, the teaching of their Catholic predecessors and masters. Take, for instance, George Buchanan (1506-1582), the Scotch pervert, for whom the extravagant claim has been made that "the principles which he successfully floated in unpropitious times undoubtedly produced the two great English, the American, and the first French Revolutions, with all their continuations and consequences."[2] As a matter of plain fact, there is not a single new idea in Buchanan; he merely put into stilted Ciceronian Latin what he had learned from his Catholic teacher, John Major,[3] and what he picked up at Bordeaux and Coimbra. To do him justice, in his famous *De jure regni apud Scotos* (1579)[4] he distinctly disavows all originality: "I will

[1] H. D. Forster, *American Historical Review*, 21 (1915-16), 500.

[2] R. Wallace, *George Buchanan*, [1899], p. 11.

[3] John Major (or Mair), *History of Greater Britain* (1521): "The king holds his right as king of a free people, nor can he grant that right to anyone against the will of that people." "A people may deprive their king and his posterity of all authority when the king's worthlessness calls for such a course, just as at first it had the power to appoint him king"—iv., 3, iv., 17 (pp. 158, 214 of Constable's trans. Edinb., 1892).

[4] §§ 8, 79 (pp. 4, 41, Aberd., 1762). Buchanan, who was a litterateur rather than a thinker, is not always as guarded and accurate as his Catholic sources, *e.g.*, on tyrannicide (*ibid.*, §86).

explain not so much my own view as that of the ancients. . . . . Do not think that I say this because I desire novelty." It is only sheer ignorance or bigotry which inspires some of the current eulogies of Buchanan. A similar remark applies to the anonymous Calvinist pamphlet *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, which, Mr. Gooch tells us, "is the first work in modern history that constructs a political philosophy on the basis of certain inalienable rights of man."[1] This judgment is as perverse as it is silly. It would certainly be hard to construct a political philosophy out of a slender pamphlet which is steeped in ancient and biblical precedents mingled with a few medieval democratic principles and tinged with Huguenot aristocratism—the author regards universal suffrage as a monstrosity (*bellua*). Moreover, we may acquit this and other Calvinist pamphlets "of any independent and disinterested belief in the sovereignty of the people or in the wider principles of liberalism." For as soon as they discovered that their theories would provide the Catholics with arms for excluding Henry of Navarre and electing Henry of Lorraine, they at once abandoned their propaganda and started to uphold absolutism and divine right. Five years after writing the *Vindiciae* we find Philip de Mornay declaring that "God takes in hand the cause of kings and holds Himself wounded in their persons." Francis Hotman hastened in the second edition of his *Franco-Gallia* (1586) to add six chapters to show that the States General were abolished, and wrote a treatise *De jure successionis* to prove the immutability of lineal succession.[2] A significantly human evolution of

[1] Gooch, *Democratic Ideas*, p. 16. The *Vindiciae* purports to be written by Stephanus Junius Brutus Celta and published at Edinburgh, 1579. In reality it was probably issued at Basle in 1581. It was long attributed to Hubert Languet (1518-1581), the friend of Sir Philip Sidney. But the authorship of Philippe de Mornay (1549-1623) seems conclusively established.

[2] Another Calvinist brochure, *A Short Treatise of Political Power* (1556, reprinted 1642), John Adams says (*Works*, vi., 4), contains "all the essential principles of liberty which were afterwards dilated on by Sidney and Locke." It is wonderful how many stray pamphlets contain modern democracy in embryo! There is not

Calvinism on which Protestant writers, so sensitive to Catholic "sectarianism," are discreetly silent. The democracy of early French Calvinism was thus a mere temporary phase, lasting less than ten years; its literature was scanty and its principles were borrowed. Whereas the Ligue, in spite of its excesses, was really part of the great Catholic tradition, and its writers, for all their vehemence, had a surer grasp of political principles and attracted more attention from friend and foe. That is why the Ligue was not without influence on English political thought.

Such, then, are the seed-thoughts and the embryo-outlines of democracy which we owe to Catholic civilisation and culture. The great Church Councils for over eight centuries slowly trained Europe in the theory and practice of self-government, finally eventuating in commune, cortes, parliament, and states-general. The organisation of the Church—the representation of cathedral and collegiate chapters, the appointment of proctors, above all the democracy of the friars—showed the way to secular States. The discussions concerning the structure of the Church formed for nearly three centuries the great polemic of the West and thus inaugurated and habituated in men's minds those categories of political thought whose inheritors we are to-day. And all the while there flowed that stream of deep, patient thinkers who, from Thomas of Aquino, Nicholas d'Oresme, Antoninus of Florence, down to Almain, Major, Bellarmine and Suarez, upheld the ideal of popular rights and government by consent. It was the ideas of these men to which the Catholics of the Ligue made their appeal; and notwithstanding their vehemence and passion, their ideals were sound. It was to this same

a single new idea in this little treatise, and only one passage (ch. 6, 1642, p. 49*f*) of the slightest value; and this is supported by citing papal depositions, canon law and biblical examples. It also contains much vulgar abuse of Bonner. It is commonly attributed to Bishop John Poynet, who was accused of being implicated in Wyatt's rebellion; but this authorship is doubtful.

treasure-house of the past that the French Calvinists turned in their first and short-lived alliance with democracy. And it was back once more to the rock whence they were hewn that the Covenanters and Presbyterians turned when the day of reckoning came for the Stuarts. From the annals of the past, from Bracton and Fortescue, from forgotten canonists, legists and schoolmen, from the great conciliar controversialists, were dragged forth principles which shattered for ever the Reformation tenet of Divine Right and traversing the ocean founded the American Republic, principles whose dynamic possibilities and far-reaching consequences are not yet exhausted.[1]

ALFRED RAHILLY.

[1] In a second article I will give a detailed proof of the extent to which seventeenth century England was indebted to the Catholic institutions and writings above outlined.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS COVENANT.

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THE draft of the League of Nations Covenant is now before us, and its provisions are in many respects similar to those previously recommended in the numerous works that have been appearing on this subject since the inception of the Peace Conference. But there are some surprises which we shall notice in the course of this article. The draft Covenant represents the views of the fourteen nations constituting the Peace Conference. What alterations may be made before the full programme is completed it would be impossible to say. We are not even certain that any complete covenant will ever be agreed on. For without the signature of America's President no covenant of the kind would have any value, and the President has yet to obtain the consent of a two-thirds majority of the American Senate (which by the constitution is necessary for all treaties) before he can attach his signature. This majority might have been easily obtained in the period preceding America's entry into the war. It will be more difficult now that the Republican party (a party not over-friendly to Mr. Wilson) has a majority in the Senate. However, judging from the character of the Covenant, the probabilities are that President Wilson will get the required majority.

As was generally expected, the proposed Covenant leaves the sovereignty of the nations forming the League unimpaired. The League will not be of the nature of a super-state controlling and exercising sovereignty over

the parts. It will be a League and nothing more. On the other hand, it will be something more than a mere alliance, which is a union formed by private agreement only and is represented by no public organ internationally recognised. The League will be constituted by public Law, and will be represented by a public Executive, a Secretariat, and an International Court. If we might assign a category of union under which to bring the League it will be that of a Confederation like the Swiss Confederation of 1815-48 and the Germanic Confederation of 1815-66, both of which left the sovereignty of the component parts unimpaired, but both of which were created by public law and were represented by a public organ, viz., the Diet.

The idea of the super-state being rejected, it followed that the idea of a standing international army and navy could not be sustained. Article 16 provides that in case the League proceeds to punish a breach of the covenant each member of the League will contribute *in such case* a certain quota of troops to be determined by the Executive Council. But there will be no permanent army and navy definitely representing the League. Indeed, though it is possible to imagine a navy distinctively international, a purely international army is hardly conceivable. In times of peace such an army ought to occupy neutral or what might be called international territory, and such territory is not to be found outside the most inaccessible places. It is reported that M. Bourgeois intends pressing for a purely international army to be stationed in France. But an army permanently stationed in France could never be regarded as representative of a League of Nations. Imagine Germany sending its quota of troops into French territory for the protection of France against sudden irruptions on the part of the Central Powers.

The League is to consist of the signatories to the present covenant, of certain States named in a protocol

as States to be invited (probably the neutral nations and perhaps also the four States, Germany, Austria, Turkey, and Russia), and of other self-governing countries (including Dominions and Colonies) not mentioned in the protocol as States to be invited, provided their admission is voted by a two-third majority of the States represented in the League.

We do not know whether the Holy See is to have representation. If it is not to be represented, there can be no confidence in the League. Amongst the organs representing the League there are two of first-class importance, viz., the Council of Conciliation (*i.e.*, the Executive Council) and the Court of Arbitration, one condition of whose successful working will be their known impartiality and disinterestedness. Now these tribunals are to consist of representatives of the States composing the League and from their very function as representative of the component States they cannot be disinterested. The Holy See is the only truly disinterested power on earth. The Holy See has its subjects everywhere: the people of Germany or Russia are of no more importance in its eyes than those of England, America or France. It is the only truly international power in the whole world. By its very essence and constitution it is committed to the recognition of the equal claims of all. Were the Church to regard the interests of any one country as having a greater claim on its consideration than those of another, it might justly be regarded as repudiating in fact that character or mark which from all time it has claimed to be of its very essence, viz., its universalism—its catholicism. Its mandate, given to it by its Divine Founder, is to care for all nations, not for some only. A particular Pontiff might, of course, in a particular case prove untrue to his mandate, just as a civil ruler might prove unfaithful to his office. But the Holy See is the one Power in the world which by its constitution is committed to a policy of disinterestedness as between the nations, and consequently, no other Power

or group of Powers holds out such promise of impartiality as it does. It is not surprising, therefore, to find already an imperative call from the Protestant nation of Germany for the full and proper representation of the Holy See in the Councils of the League of Nations. The German scheme for the League is the work of the German Society for International Law, and it has been sent to the German Government with a proposal that it should be used as the basis for negotiations. We may take it, of course, that most of the experts forming this commission are non-Catholic; yet they find themselves compelled by the logic of the situation to demand the inclusion of the Holy See in the League—it must even be given a commanding position there. The second section dealing with the constitution of the League insists that the Holy See be given "a position in the League corresponding to its special importance."

Whether the present group will develop into a true League of Nations depends on the number and character of the signatures to the Covenant. If Germany, Austria, Turkey and Russia should stay out, then we shall simply have a Europe divided fairly equally against itself with America holding the balance of power. And if the Senate of America should continue to hold by the Monroe doctrine of the right of America to prevent any European power from gaining a controlling influence in the New World, and by its logical corollary that America should abstain from interference in Old World affairs, then even this controlling influence of America may be wanting to the League, and the last state of things would be worse than the first. So far the League is nothing more than a League of the Allies; and we can only hope that in time it may secure the adherence of every other power that counts for anything in the world.

The draft covenant speaks of the "seat of the League,"

but fails to specify where that seat is to be. We are glad that the Conference did not jump at the proposal put forward on all sides that the League should have its centre at the Hague. By most writers it was taken for granted that the Hague was the only suitable centre—others emphasised the claims of Versailles. Personally I consider that neither of these places is very suitable as a seat of the League ; and they are particularly unsuited in the sphere of arbitration and conciliation. What has to be remembered here is that France, and to some extent Holland also, are military powers, competitors in the race for world-power, possible belligerents in future European wars, and therefore possible litigants in the international courts. Nations so situated are not the nations to which one naturally turns as representing the international idea, the very essence of which is to be outside the sphere of military rivalry, and certainly the seat of the League ought to express in some way the international idea. Neither do venues such as the two mentioned guarantee the freedom of the international courts, a first condition of any court being that it should be removed from the influence of the contending parties.

In this connection may I be allowed to submit an opinion, which will probably have occurred to many already, that if there is one place on earth perfectly fulfilling the conditions of an international centre of legislation and justice it is Ireland. Standing, as she does, midway between the new world and the old, the gate of the Atlantic, the outer-most portal of Europe, with her waterways bearing down to the ocean in every direction, a poor nation and remote from the rivalries and political intrigues of the rest of the world, she seems to invite men to turn to her and to find in her a meeting-centre for an earth until now divided disastrously against itself. English statesmen have often talked of the menace of Ireland. If they would have that menace removed there could be no better way of doing so than to give her her freedom,

constitute one of her cities the seat of the League, and thus consecrate the whole land permanently to peace.

The organs or tribunals of the League are four. First, there is to be a kind of legislature consisting of delegates from the different States. A state may be represented by any number of delegates not exceeding three, but each State will be given only one vote. In this way the theory of the juridical equality of all States is maintained—at least so far as the body of delegates is concerned. The function of this body is expressed in very general terms in the draft Covenant—it will deal with "matters within the sphere of action of the League" (Art. 2). The body of delegates will constitute a kind of sovereign congress representing the whole League. From it would naturally issue all *universal* international agreements or agreements entered into by all, and it would probably also take formal cognisance of what are called *general* laws or agreements accepted by only certain members of the League. It is this body of delegates also that will determine the *personnel* of the Executive Council.

The Executive Council will be the second and chief executive organ of the League. To it are to be referred all justiciable disputes for submission by it to the International Court. It will itself constitute a Board of Conciliation in non-justiciable questions, *i.e.*, questions of honour and interest, or even in justiciable questions which may be settled out of Court. On it will devolve the duty of fixing the armament coefficient of each State, of determining the quota of forces to be supplied by the various States in case the League undertakes military action against a culprit State, and of advising as to whether action is to be taken, its kind and conditions. Finally, it is the Executive Council which will appoint the General Secretary (and through him the whole Secretariat) and formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent court of international justice. To put it briefly, the whole

working of the League is either in the hands or under the indirect control of the Executive Council.

This being understood, it is interesting to consider the composition of this remarkable body. Naturally one would expect that in a League of Nations the Executive Council would be appointed by the delegates representing the member States. Professor Oppenheim, of Cambridge, in his splendid little work, *The League of Nations*, gives a reasoned scheme as to the composition of the Council of Conciliation (which function is now assigned to the Executive Council), and naturally he takes it for granted, first, that this Council will be appointed by the delegates representing the different States, and, secondly, that all States will be given representation on it. In the draft Covenant before us the composition of the Council is already taken in large measure out of the hands of the delegates. Five nations are definitely given a permanent place on it, viz., America, England, France, Italy, Japan. Four other States will be given representation, and these four are to be selected by the delegates out of the rest of the international world, *i.e.*, the nine remaining signatories, the three Central powers with Russia, and the thirty-three remaining neutral States. By giving representation to six out of this great body of sovereign States the *bloc* of five might be out-voted on occasion, and this the five favoured ones are determined shall not be. There are about fifty civilised sovereign States in existence to-day. Whether forty-five of these will consent to have their military forces brought under the control of the other five in the way indicated in the draft Covenant (and we have seen what the powers of the Executive Council are to be) still remains to be seen. We fancy that most nations will set a higher value on the possession of sovereign independence than to surrender that sovereignty for any speculative advantage, however great, derived from their incorporation in the League. It may, of course, be said that if any nation cares to

remain outside the League, it is free to do so, and that consequently no injustice is done to them by the predominant influence conceded to the five favoured nations. But it is precisely here that we encounter the strangest of all the provisions occurring in the Covenant. Whether a nation elects to remain outside or to enter the League (and apparently some will either not be admitted at all, or will be let in only on conditions) it will still be brought under the supervision and control of the League. Articles 17-18 include the following provisions :—

> In the event of disputes between one State, a member of the League, and another State, which is not a member of the League, or between States not members of the League, the high contracting parties agree that the State or States not members of the League shall be invited to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute. Upon such invitation, the above provisions shall be applied [*i.e.*, those relating to breaches of the covenant and the League's military procedure against the culprit member] with such modifications as may be deemed necessary by the League. Upon such invitation being given, the Executive Council shall immediately institute an enquiry into the circumstances and merits of the dispute and recommend such action as may seem best and most effective in the circumstances. In the event of a Power so invited refusing to accept the obligations of membership in the League for the purpose of such dispute and taking any action against a State member of the League which in the case of a State member of the League would constitute a breach of Art. 12 [that providing for the *moratorium*], the provisions of Art. 16 shall be applicable as against a State taking such action.[1]

In other words, if a State elects to remain outside the League, and should later have a grievance against a member of the League, it cannot straightway go to war with the offending State. It will be first invited to take on the obligations of membership, and whether it accepts that invitation or not it will be treated upon the issue

[1] If both parties when invited refuse to accept the League obligations, "the Executive Council may take such action and make such recommendations as will prevent hostilities, and will result in the settlement of the dispute."

of " such invitation " as if it had acquiesced. The case will then be tried either by the Executive Council (if it is a case of honour or interest) or by the International Court (if it is justiciable), and should the decision of the tribunal concerned favour the member litigant, the outsider must not make war on the successful party, or, if it does, it will be " deemed to have committed an act of war against all the other members of the League." It is clear, therefore, that the Executive Council, so far as war and the interests that lead up to war are concerned, will be in a very large sense of the expression masters of the world.

The other two organs of the League are the Secretariat, which it will not be necessary to consider here, and the Court of Arbitration, for which the Executive Council is to formulate plans. Whether the five favoured nations are to be given a similar preponderance in the Court of Arbitration as in the Executive Council we do not yet know. Supposing, however, that representation in the Court of Arbitration turns out to be on a broader basis than that on the Executive Council, two important questions will still remain to be considered : first, as to the relative jurisdiction of Council and Court ; and secondly, as to the composition of the Court. The first question raises the enquiry whether a particular dispute should be brought before the Council or the Court. The provision made in the draft Covenant is peculiar. Article 13 reads :—

> The high contracting parties agree that whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them which they recognise to be suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration. For this purpose the Court of Arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the Court agreed on by the parties or stipulated in any convention existing between them.

On the other hand, Article 15 reads :—

> If there should arise between States, members of the League,

any disputes likely to lead to a rupture which is not submitted to arbitration as above, the high contracting parties agree that they will refer the matter to the Executive Council.

The position, therefore, would seem to be that, if both parties agree to bring the matter before the Arbitration Court, they can do so; if they don't agree, it comes before the Executive Council. Accordingly, any State that considers its interests better represented in the Executive Council than in the Court of Arbitration has only to put in its veto against the Court, and forthwith the case becomes one for the Executive Council—a curious provision considering what has already been said on the composition of the Council.[1]

The second question concerns the composition of the Court of Arbitration. Here the provisions of the draft covenant are most peculiar and perplexing. Article 14 provides as follows :—

> The Executive Council shall formulate plans for the establishment of a permanent Court of International Justice, and this Court shall, when established, be competent to hear and determine any matter which the parties recognise as suitable for submission to it for arbitration under the foregoing article.

The covenant here obviously provides for the institution of a single permanent Court, which will try all cases submitted for arbitration. Now let us see what are the provisions of the " foregoing article " :—

> The high contracting parties agree that whenever any dispute or difficulty shall arise between them which they recognise to be

[1] Article 15 provides that, if the members of the Council other than those representing the parties to the dispute, are unanimous in their recommendation, the League will not go to war with the State that complies with this recommendation, and if any party refuses to comply the Council will propose measures necessary to give effect to the recommendation. If such unanimity does not obtain, the majority must and the minority may issue a report. In all cases of dispute between parties who do not agree to send up the matter for arbitration such dispute may be referred by the Executive Council to the body of delegates on petition of either party provided such petition is made within fourteen days after the matter is submitted to the Executive Council.

suitable for submission to arbitration and which cannot be satisfactorily settled by diplomacy, they will submit the whole subject matter to arbitration. For this purpose the Court of Arbitration to which the case is referred shall be the Court agreed on by the parties or stipulated by any convention between them.

Here, then, are two articles, one apparently in contradiction with the other—the first providing for a permanent Court which will hear all cases suitable for arbitration; the second intimating that the court of arbitration in each case will be any one agreed on between the parties or stipulated by convention between themselves. These two articles, one of which follows immediately on the other, must be reconcilable; but the draft Covenant does nothing to explain or reconcile them. The proper solution, however, of the difficulty is not far to seek, and it is suggested by Professor Oppenheim's reference to the composition of the Court, published long before the appearance of the draft Covenant and which is itself based upon certain recommendations of the first and second Hague Peace Conferences. Apparently there will be a single permanent Court of Arbitration; but in it will be several Benches which will be called on to decide the several cases. It must be to the particular Bench by which the case is to be tried in the first instance that the draft Covenant refers when it speaks of the Court as a matter for agreement between the parties or to be stipulated by convention between them.[1] These Benches will of course exist within the Court taken as a whole. The additional question whether the Court as a whole is to act as a tribunal of appeal from the Benches is not explained in the Covenant—it is a matter presumably left to the discretion of the Executive Council which is instructed to formulate plans for the Court.

[1] It is remarkable that in outlining a constitution for the Court of Conciliation (which function, as we have already said, is now reserved to the Executive Council), Prof. Oppenheim should have suggested that the Permanent Council of Conciliation (which would appoint the chairmen of the smaller sub-councils) should consist of persons appointed by the Great Powers only, since "in case coercion is to be resorted to against a state . . . . the Great Powers will be chiefly concerned."

The proposed Covenant suggests many problems which could not be treated in the space of a short article. I select, however, two or three which have the greatest interest for the ordinary readers of reviews.

The first relates to the *limitation of armaments*. Lt.-General the Rt. Hon. J. C. Smuts, writing in December, 1918, intimated that the limitation of armaments was subject to many difficulties, such as that it was impossible to say in what armament consisted, and impossible also to value one weapon of destruction as against another. The Covenant sweeps all such difficulties aside, and boldly insists on "the reduction of national armaments to the lowest point consistent with national safety and the enforcement by common action of international obligations, having special regard to the geographical situation and circumstances of each State: the Executive Council shall formulate plans for effecting such reduction." No reference is made by the Covenant to those States that remain freely or compulsorily outside the League; but it is inconceivable that the Allied Governments should themselves adopt a policy of reduction without requiring its adoption in the case of all other nations also. Evidently, then, as in the case before considered of the necessary reference of disputes to the League for arbitration, so also in connection with the limitation of armaments, the outside nations are to be treated as if they belonged to the League, *i.e.*, the scale of equipment and armament allowed to them will also be determined by the Executive Council. Apparently they will also be required to join in the "full and frank interchange of information as to their military and naval programmes." But whatever the outside nations may think of this system of enforced limitation of armaments, the world of ordinary men will be grateful that a policy of limitation is to be imposed all round—particularly if limitation of forces (*i.e.*, the abolition of conscription) is to accompany limitation in armament. It is a great thing to relieve the world of the

" oppressive moral atmosphere of the armed camp " and to lessen the " economic drive towards war," two things which are the inseparable accompaniment of " armament industries."

Next in importance to limitation of armaments is the new law of the *moratorium* :—

> The high contracting parties agree that should disputes arise between them which cannot be adjusted by the ordinary processes of diplomacy they will in no case resort to war without previously submitting the questions and matters involved either to arbitration or to enquiry by the Executive Council, and until three months after the award by the arbitrators or a recommendation by the Executive Council.

This law of delay in the declaration and initiation of war is one of the most valuable achievements of the League. By some it is recommended because it allows time for the subsidence of passion, and in this way may help either as a preventative of war or as a controlling influence in the opening stages of war. To the writer's mind the chief advantages arising out of the moratorium, over and above the fact that the use of arbitration may render recourse to war unnecessary, are the following :—first, it will remove one of the most potent of all incitements to war ; secondly, the moratorium makes it possible to give the people (as distinct from the governments) a deciding voice in declaring war, a right which until now could only be allowed with difficulty. Let me briefly explain these two statements. Under our present régime, when war is threatened by one party, the other party immediately mobilises in self-defence. Such mobilisation is then itself regarded as a grievance, a *casus belli*, and a war is precipitated which might have failed altogether to materialise had the original grievance remained the only consideration in the case. Under the law of the moratorium, although no special reference is made to mobilisation, we take it that resort not only to war but to any part of the

procedure of war, which mobilisation certainly is, will be delayed. The second advantage is to the effect that the moratorium makes it possible and desirable to give to the people, *i.e.*, their representatives in Parliament, the right to declare or veto war. In America it is Congress that declares war, though the President conducts the previous negotiations. Now this feature of the American Constitution has always been regarded as of very doubtful value. Under the present system speed and secrecy are indispensable, the advantage being always with the Power that can strike quickest and most unexpectedly. But if Parliament is given a right of veto it can delay signifying its consent until the opportune time is past, and it can show its hand, and the hand of the executive as well, in the course of its previous deliberations. The moratorium renders sudden action unlawful and impossible and allows for a period of deliberation of which Parliaments may avail themselves as well as the tribunals of the League. For that reason it will be possible to grant to Parliaments in the future a right at least of veto, a right which was not without its dangers in the past. It may be asked whether the people are better judges of the opportuneness and the justifying grounds of war than governments are, and whether, therefore, the right of Parliamentary veto is really an advantage. I answer that what the world at present desires is the elimination of war, and it is certain that the people, who alone have to bear the pains and burdens of war, will be less precipitate in undertaking war than cabinets and governments generally are. Besides, the representatives of the people will have their governments to advise them if advice is required. These, therefore, are two undoubted advantages conferred by the moratorium. The law of the moratorium and the other provisions of the League will not, of course, eliminate wars altogether; but they will certainly load the dice in favour of peace.

In a very obscure part of the draft covenant there occurs a paragraph which to the present writer's mind is more important and suggestive than many another which the newspapers have printed in heavy type. Article 11 reads :—

> Any war or threat of war, whether immediately affecting any of the high contracting parties or not, is hereby declared a matter of concern to the League, and the high contracting parties reserve the right to take any action that may be deemed wise and effectual to safeguard the peace of nations. *It is hereby also declared and agreed to be the friendly right of each of the high contracting parties to draw the attention of the Body of Delegates or of the Executive Council to any circumstances affecting international intercourse which threaten to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends.*

It is to these last words, italicised for the purpose of this article, that the attention of the reader is at present directed. In them the League takes power to extend its functions to every relation of our political and economic life which may be shown to have any, even the most remote, bearing on war and peace, a provision which practically means that the activities of the League are to be co-extensive with the whole public life of the international world. Through this provision, for instance, the League assumes the right to legislate in regard to the distribution of the raw materials of industry, and with this root factor of our economic life brought under her control, it is hard to know what economic or even political problem remains outside her influence. "Raw materials," says an eminent writer, "including the staple foods, have become the pivot of world politics. If Horace could rewrite his Ode he would speak, not of the *auri sacra fames*, but of the hunger for iron-ore. Either we shall distribute the cotton, the metals, the rubber, the wool, the oil and the grain to each according to his need, or we must face a generation of turmoil, intrigue, and war to determine their allocation." But besides economic problems there

are also political problems which have an important, though an indirect, bearing on war, and these also apparently will fall within the competence of the League. The acquiring of what are called paramount interests in other countries, the setting up of "spheres of influence" in the weaker States—these things, though innocent in name and profession, are to be reckoned amongst the most potent causes of war. Whether the case of Ireland comes within the orbit of this Article No. 11 I leave to the reader to judge.

What is evident, therefore, is that the League of Nations, whatever may be its future dimensions, does not intend to act as an external check merely, but means to get down into the very lives of the nations and to form them from within. It means to extend its influence into every corner of our international life. This certainly bears promise of much advantage to the world if only the League is accepted by all. But if the League is to be manipulated by a particular party group not representative of all, the peace that will ensue will be superficial and unreal. Under it will lurk passions, dissatisfactions and animosities which even the League in time may not be able to restrain. Neutral nations are already protesting. A Swedish organ characterizes the League as an attempt "to create a permanent condition of tutelage for all other countries save a couple of Great Powers and their body-guard of privileged vassals."

M. Cronin.

IRELAND AND WORLD CONTACT.

BY JOHN J. HORGAN.

"NO one who has not experienced the fact can imagine what it means to be cut off from the whole civilised world."[1] Irishmen, at all events, can appreciate the feelings to which M. Masaryk, the President of the new Bohemian Republic, thus gives expression, for if Bohemia has been shut off from the world by a land frontier hedged with German bayonets, Ireland is closed to foreign intercourse by a sea frontier patrolled by English warships. It is this freedom of international communication, which (as M. Masaryk further states) " is the essential of all effort," that we must now seek to restore to our country. It is amongst the most imperative and pressing of the many imperative and pressing needs which confront us in this time of reconstruction. Ireland must re-establish direct intercourse and direct trading with foreign countries.

It is utterly idle to hope that the English government will assist in any such project. The whole tendency and tradition of English policy in Ireland is against such a course ; for that policy has aimed at shutting us off from the world and making us the servant of England's needs, and it has succeeded in its aims. As Mr. Jeudwine, the English historian, has recently pointed out, " The difficulties of Ireland are the ultimate sequence of an economic movement," and her later history " a unique example of

[1] Special interview with M. Masaryk—*Times*, January 9, 1919.

the ruin and degradation of one people by another from pure ignorance, from theological hatred, from misrepresentation of the historical facts, from commercial jealousy,"[1] and these conditions will continue as long as the parasitical English ruling classes trade and exist upon the open Irish sore.

The need of the moment is to re-create an international status for Ireland. The decline of that status is a field that has yet to be explored by the historian. During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Ireland as a political entity was as sharply defined in the minds of the French and Spanish peoples as even England itself, but during the nineteenth century the distinction became more and more obliterated. At present we have really far more foreign trade than in the past, but it is so conducted through English channels that it does not help to create in the minds of foreigners a concept of Ireland as a distinct political entity. Irish goods pass into the hands of foreign buyers under the general category of British manufacture. The only distinctive Irish development of recent years was the establishment of the Irish National Trade-Mark, which was a most important step in the right direction. The French and American Governments are now about to also establish national trade marks, a clear proof that the value of such marks of origin is now generally recognised.

All intelligent foreigners realise the necessity for opening up direct communication with Ireland. One of our latest visitors, my friend M. Alexandre Le Fas, a member of the French Chamber of Deputies, speaking recently in Paris, "urged the rising French generation to study Ireland, and to seek for the means of bringing about a closer union between Celtic Ireland and Latin and Celtic France. He did not want merely sentimental and emotional bonds, but also practical bonds of commerce. He would like to see direct services of passenger and cargo

[1] *The Foundations of Society and the Land*, by J. H. Jeudwine, F.R.H.S.

steamboats between the ports of Brittany and Ireland."[1] Others have spoken to similar effect, and yet we know that during the war the ownership of most of the independent Irish steamship lines that are left has been taken out of Irish hands and passed by skilful manipulation into the ownership of the English shipping ring. At the same time there is no cause for despondency or despair. The whole international situation is changed. England, for many centuries mistress of the seas, finds herself at last faced with a serious and menacing challenge to her supremacy, for the United States has emerged from the war with a great and growing mercantile marine. On the eve of President Wilson's departure for England, Mr. Hurley, the Irish Chairman of the American Shipping Board, in an interview with the Paris correspondent of the United Press, announced that the United States would soon be in a position to build ships as cheaply as Great Britain, and that the American merchant flag would soon fly in every port of the world. The despatch of the United Press states :—

"In this connexion it was learned from other sources that the help of America's vast new system of shipyards in constructing merchantmen for England, France and other Allied nations is expected to depend absolutely upon the solution of the problem of the freedom of the seas. If it is not solved and the lid on competition is taken off, America is believed to be ready to throw all its resources into building the world's greatest fleet, thus becoming predominant in world trade. There is no intention to utilise American ships only for American cargoes. We want our vessels to carry the cargoes of other nations, and we also want the ships of other nations to carry our cargoes. Every American ship will have fine living quarters, the seamen of the merchant marine will be uniformed, and the whole service is to be so attractive that all seamen will be enthusiastic to get into it and become salesmen of American products throughout the world."[2]

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[1] *Freeman's Journal*, January 11, 1919.

[2] *Times*, December 27, 1918.

These statements are further amplified in a despatch to the *Public Ledger* of Philadelphia, which says :—

"The idea of the Administration is that, as America can pay higher wages in factories and on land than Europe and still compete, she can also do so on the seas by the use of superior machinery, oil-burning ships, improved port facilities, crews operating in relays, and other ways of saving the turn around and coal handling cost. It is planned to apply to shipping the same policy of modern machinery and modern methods which succeeded in other American industries in spite of high cost of labour, and it is believed they will succeed on the sea and under private ownership of shipping. The new American ships are 90 per cent. oil burning. Only 3 per cent. of the British ships are oil burning. The oil burner may be as big a step forward in shipping as was the steel ship over the wooden one."[1]

Add to these statements the fact that on December 31, 1918, there were 3,645,919 tons of shipping under construction in the United States against 1,979,952 tons in the United Kingdom, and it becomes apparent that they foreshadow the coming struggle for maritime supremacy and world trade in which Ireland is destined to play an important part. Nor does the matter end here. The United States has become the great creditor nation of the world. The financial centre of gravity is shifting from London to New York. Apart from the advances directly made to the Allies by the American Government since its entry into the war, there are now held by American investors and bankers foreign government obligations as yet unredeemed amounting to about £420,000,000, besides another £100,000,000 on private credits, all issued since the war began. The direct American government advances to the various Allies amounted on December 7, 1918, to £1,644,068,140, and they may eventually reach two thousand millions. Meanwhile large amounts of American securities, on which the United States before the war was

[1] *Times*, December 28, 1918.

a debtor to Europe, have been bought back; and the result is that, even when allowance is made for American securities still outstanding and held abroad, what was a pre-war condition of American foreign indebtedness to the extent of about £800,000,000 has now been changed to one of foreign indebtedness to the United States to the extent of about £2,000,000,000.

How are the foreign debtors to repay this enormous sum to the United States? In great measure the answer to that question depends on the settlements arrived at by the Peace Conference, and in such other arrangements as may be made between the United States Treasury and the various Treasuries of the Allies. But it is very probable that the continuance and extension of American foreign loans is the principal method in which the war credits supplied by American investors will be carried over and forward into the future. Americans as a people are beginning to realise that England's wonderful trade was built upon the credit she extended in every quarter where her trade went. The United States intends to follow that example. The leading issuing houses and banking institutions throughout America are already looking forward to the handling of foreign securities on a scale far heavier than ever before. The Investment Bankers' Association of America, a powerful body representing the great body of American investors, recently appointed a standing committee upon foreign securities, for the purpose of covering the whole field of foreign investment and to act as a source of information and guidance in these matters. It is quite apparent that America, with her material resources almost untouched, has an abundance of credit available for the future. On the other hand, she is lacking in the machinery of credit which England has built up all over the world. Already the American financial interests are demanding that a working arrangement shall be definitely entered into whereunder the enormous resources of credit which the United States has shall be

given the benefit of London's wonderful credit machinery, and it is obvious that this must be conceded if the commercial affairs of England are to be carried on with ease and comfort.[1]

Again, consider the change in the coal industry, one of England's principal and most vital exports. Cheap fuel for trade and export was the secret of England's pre-war industrial strength. The cost of production per ton has more than doubled since the war began, and has led to a diminished production per person employed. The new demands of the miners, now put forward, mean the addition of practically a third more to the cost of production. It is the strong view of English manufacturers and coal exporters that industry and foreign trade will not be able to stand the high prices now prevailing a moment longer than that warranted by the world level of coal prices, and that this condition has already disappeared is proved by the fact that America is even to-day competing with British coal in the European and South American markets. The production in the United States is on an average 660 tons per person employed, as compared with 243 tons per person in the United Kingdom. In this vital matter of fuel supply and export England's pre-war advantages are also threatened with extinction.

All these facts go to show that the great issue which now hangs on the Peace Conference is not the future position of Germany, Austria or Turkey, but the future position of America. The Atlantic is now narrower than the Straits of Dover before the days of steam. An air service will soon make it narrower still. The time has come when the United States must definitely take its part in shaping the politics of the world. Either the League of Nations will become a reality and render obsolete the old idea of empire, rightly abhorrent to American traditions, or the United States will take its place amongst

[1] See "The World's Debt to America" by T. W. Lamont (one of the partners in J. P. Morgan and Co.), in *Times* Annual Financial Review, January 21, 1919.

the great empires of the world, nor will its republican form of government necessarily hinder such a development. In either event America will exercise a great and increasing power in the councils of the world. Now Ireland's geographical position makes her the natural European base for American commerce. The great land-locked bays and harbours along her southern and western coast provide ideal sites for warehouses and factories. They are in fact the front door to the European markets. If we can enlist the support of American capital now seeking a foreign outlet, and adopt American business methods and machinery, the speedy development of Ireland is certain. Mr. Ford is perhaps after all only an indication and a forerunner of what is to be. We must secure that certain of the new American ships will call at Irish ports, and that at least one line of steamers will put down and take up passengers and mails. What England refused to Germany she cannot refuse to America. In order to accelerate these developments, and others of a like nature, it is absolutely essential that Ireland should recover contact with the world. I believe that not only is the time ripe, but the method tolerably clear—namely the establishment of Irish Trade Commissioners, or Consuls General, in the principal trade centres and capitals of the world. It is with the development of such a plan that this article is mainly concerned.

Two serious difficulties have to be faced at the outset, namely, the fact that such Commissioners would probably not be officially recognised by foreign governments under existing political conditions, and the framing of a satisfactory financial scheme for their support. Neither of these difficulties should prove insuperable. The lack of official recognition would not prevent business or newspaper interests from taking advantage of the services offered, nor would it prevent the Commissioners themselves from undertaking propaganda work on behalf of Ireland or from obtaining the information they required.

The second difficulty is more serious. All schemes of this kind based on a system of voluntary financial support are apt to start well, but soon perish from lack of that permanent support which the machinery of ordered national government can alone supply, and which is entirely lacking in Ireland. The first thing to consider is the annual sum required. Commissioners should at least be appointed to the following cities—Paris, New York, Berlin, Buenos Ayres, Barcelona, Milan, Moscow, and Vienna, with a central control office in Dublin.[1] Calculating on the basis of other consular services, if really good men are to be employed, and any others would be worse than useless, each office would cost at least £1,200 a year.[2] It would therefore cost approximately £12,000 a year to finance the entire scheme in a satisfactory manner, and this would probably increase quickly to £20,000 if the scheme was a success. In default of an established national government, the Irish County Councils might each be made responsible for the raising of an allotted portion of the fund either by a public rate or voluntary subscription. In this way the area of collection would be equally distributed and the fund raised without serious difficulty. It is impossible to expect any small section of the community, even the manufacturers who are most directly concerned, to bear the burden of raising such a fund in addition to the overwhelming taxation now in force.

Financial provision having been made, the next step would be to appoint the Commissioners and define their duties. The appointment should be a matter of anxious care. Such a service has two distinct sides. There is the business side, and there is what may be called the social

[1] It will be noted that I have not in all cases mentioned the capital as the Commissioner's station. This is because it is not always the business centre. Washington, for instance, is entirely a political city, and Milan is the business capital of Italy.

[2] I have based this figure on the following rough estimates. Commissioner's salary £700 a year, rising to £1,000; office rent, clerical and incidental expenses, say, £500.

and ceremonial side. To be successful in such a post a man must be adequately equipped with the qualifications demanded by each side. Yet they are very different in character, and are by no means always to be found in combination. Tact, discretion, and zeal, good address, a complete acquaintance with modern business methods, a wide knowledge of Irish economic conditions and possibilities, linguistic proficiency, all these things must be combined in the men appointed, who must, moreover, be of Irish blood and solely concerned with Ireland's interests.

The duties of such Commissioners would be tremendously varied and important. Though Ireland is poor at home both in numbers and in wealth, how many millions of her children are scattered all over the world, and how able and wealthy many of them are! It would be the duty of the Irish Trade Commissioners to consolidate and enlist this potent force on the side of Ireland, both politically and commercially. They should not only have a thorough knowledge of the political, commercial and industrial conditions in Ireland, but should be alert at all times to supplement this knowledge with the latest and most complete information which it would be the duty of the Dublin bureau to supply. They will be asked by business men and manufacturers in their district questions covering a great variety of matters. Some will want to buy articles made in Ireland; others will want to sell something to the people of Ireland. The Commissioners must be able to answer these questions promptly, or show the utmost willingness to obtain the information required. They must have at their command the latest books of reference and current publications covering the subject of commerce in its various phases. Their success will depend largely upon keeping themselves currently informed on trade developments, both in Ireland and in the country to which they are assigned. They should observe with great care the general tendencies of

commerce, analyse the commercial records found in the trade press, and tabulate all important statistics. Reports should be prepared dealing with the actual working of foreign tariffs, their peculiar features, and their effect on trade with Ireland.

But what will be especially required of a trade commissioner is initiative combined with practical imagination. It will not be sufficient for him to learn, even with the most scrupulous care, all that is being done in the commercial field of his district and to report fully thereon. This is but the beginning of his service. It remains to build upon this foundation the affirmative structure of our commerce. He should have vision to see what is not done, to determine what is needed, and point out the way to get it. He should discern the articles not now made or sold in his district for which a market would exist if these articles were well made or properly designed, and he should inform the central office in Dublin of what is necessary in the matter. He should show how articles of Irish manufacture are at fault and how we may improve upon them. In brief, he should advise how we can better do what is already done either by ourselves or others, and how we can do that which is not now done at all either by ourselves or by our competitors. He should do creative and not imitative work. He must be not merely a reporter of the things that are, but a prospector for the things that as yet are not. He should deal with all phases of commerce and industry—methods and manners and terms; quality and quantity and design; colours and trademarks; packing and postage and every significant detail that may affect our commerce. For example, he should be alert to note that if certain goods shipped into his territory were packed differently, the duty would be less or the customer would be better pleased. He will have to deal with practical details as well as with general conclusions, and he will need the broad vision of his national field combined with a keen sensitiveness to the value of

these details. He will sometimes have to mount to the mountain tops, but he must live on the plains.

The foreign press is as a rule ill informed when not completely ignorant of Irish affairs. In this department there is a tremendous opportunity for intelligent propaganda. The Commissioner must supply the papers within his ambit with readable and accurate paragraphs or reports on Irish affairs, and be prepared to counter hostile propaganda immediately it appears. Above all, he must seek to emphasise and make clear the essential fact that Ireland is a distinct national entity, and all his work must be measured and conditioned by that end.

These are but a few indications of the enormous field which such Irish Trade Commissioners could cover and of the great services which they could render in establishing contact between Ireland and the world. Until some such scheme is in being we shall never fully develop our commerce or properly proclaim our national individuality throughout the world. The time has come for immediate action in this field. There is no need to await further political developments. Action along the lines indicated will only hasten these developments.

JOHN J. HORGAN.

THE RENASCENCE OF IRELAND.

BY PETER MCBRIEN.

BY reason of what she is, and what she has done, Ireland is one of the conspicuous nations of the world.

Enemies whose irritation and contempt she provokes, in the very phrases they apply to her, emphasise those peculiarities which give her her individuality. The Irish race has been described as fatalistic like the Russian, reckless like the French, imaginative and religious as the Jew of old, parsimonious as the Jew of to-day, vain and lazy as the Spaniard. Whether Ireland has some or all of these qualities, she has them in her own characteristic ethnographic synthesis, which marks her off, as cleanly as the ocean girding her, from the rest of the world, unlike those congeries of families named Czecho-Slovak or Jugo-Slav, whose lands straggle in and out from latitude to latitude amid many peoples more or less their kin.

This strong individuality is visible in what she has done. She has left an epic with no Pisistratus to create its Homer, an epic of primitive strength, of coherent and artistic design, an epic incomparably superior to that unified by scholars like Lónnrot into the *Kálevala*, the national song of the now independent race of the Finns. From her ancient civilisation she has left a code of laws more humane and broad-spirited, perhaps, than any in modern times, and a curiously futuristic system of land-tenure. Before Christianity came her sword terrified the

coasts of the North Sea. When it did come, she embraced it eagerly, as hers by right divine. Under the patronage of Charlemagne Irishmen led European thought. So that, shortly before the Normans turned their attention here, Ireland was one of the first young nations of the world. While the uneven fight went on through the succeeding centuries Irishmen maintained a standard of education as high as, if not higher than, England's,[1] tenaciously keeping their foothold on the blood-splashed battle-ground of Western philosophies and religions.

For Irishmen are born forwards in the game of thought. If they are not better known it is, first, because they have been deprived of the means of international advertisement ; secondly, because they have been hampered by an alien, English system of education, which has seriously endangered the power and prestige even of the country of its origin ; lastly, because, with their flank turned, as D. P. Moran was one of the first to point out,[2] by the un-Gaelic constitutional movement of Molyneux, Grattan, O'Connell, and Parnell, they turned their eyes in confusion upon the Teutonic ideals of the Thames. Within the last thirty years Irishmen have faced homeward ; their minds have been rudely wrenched back upon themselves and the riches of their country. They have been taught to be self-critical, to measure their work by criteria found in the olden culture of the Gael rather than in the comparatively parvenu and altogether utilitarian make-believe of the Pale. There has been a national re-orientation. Men wide apart enough in other respects have been at one in this, and Fr. Finlay and Yeats, no less than Pearse and MacDonagh, have taught us to shun the help of anyone, even of the mother of parliaments.

The results are so startling that a quantity of literature has been devoted to the analysis of them and to the potent personalities who pioneered a revolution, at once un-

[1] T. Corcoran : *State Policy in Irish Education*, 1536-1816. (Fallon, 1916).
[2] D. P. Moran : *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, c. iii. (Gill, 1906).

assuming and profound, in every phase of Irish activity, political, economic and artistic. In a recently published study of the relations between the different movements in Irish Ireland,[1] Mr. Lloyd Morris, speaking of the renascence that has taken place during those thirty years, says " it has borne a new thought, a new literature, a new economy, a new social philosophy, even a new nation in Ireland." But it would be more correct to say that it has revived the old than given birth to what is new. In spite of the fact that Mr. Lloyd Morris came under the influence of one important section in Irish life, that he shows a tendency to align himself with those foreigners who, like Matthew Arnold, merely find a glamour in the beauteous idea of Neo-Celtism, and that he falls into excusable errors of detail (thus he describes a landing of arms in Dalkey instead of Howth), nevertheless his work is valuable as the painstaking testimony of a dispassionate American to the absolute distinctiveness of the Irish nation.

These movements are the efflorescence of a root idea, the idea not so much of *Ireland for the Irish* as of the *Irish for Ireland*, which, being interpreted, is the doctrine of Sinn Fein taken in its broadest sense. In that sense every Irishman is a Sinn Feiner, Dillon as well as de Valera. If you look deeper, however, you will find that official Sinn Fein is the most authentic record of national feeling. It is the most direct political outcome of the root idea which has flowered also into the Abbey Theatre, the Co-operative Movement, the Irish Industrial Revival, and the Gaelic League. All Ireland held its breath when Hugh O'Neill marched south into Munster. The *Judenhetze* of those English Junkers, whose outpost still holds a bit of North-East Ulster, drove the Volunteers into rebellion, and all that was truly Irish held its breath during the Easter Week of 1916, too.

The other political parties have, no doubt, excellent

[1] Lloyd R. Morris : *The Celtic Dawn.* (New York : Macmillan, 1917).

leaders, and have done great work for Ireland. They cut across each other in curious fashion. A younger A.E. would have joined up like that epitome of the reckless chivalry of his chief, Tom Kettle. And A.E. pursues the *civitas* ideal, whereas Kettle's instinct was finely imperial. Yet of the two Kettle probably had more of the Gael in him. Moreover, these differences have been accompanied by a lack of compromise on the part of the political groups. Just such a lack of compromise was responsible for the retrogression of Poland before 1772.[1] In the uncompromising attitude the Irish political parties adopted towards each other, before the threat of Conscription united the people, many, of course, recognised the health and energy into which the national life had been quickened by contemporary events.

Now and then, indeed, this antagonism is inclined to grow too bitter and ungenerous. Such is the cry of the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, that the Irish Party and even the Department of Agriculture are under the heel of the gombeen man, a cry the faint reverberations of which mar a really helpful work which now lies before me.[2] In this book, the collaboration of an Oxford graduate and a sometime Fellow of Harvard, I read (and the date on the title-page is 1917) that "the Department, and indeed the Nationalist Party itself, is in the hands of the traders . . . the Council of Agriculture is now in their hands." A glance at the list of members of the Council for 1917 proves, I think, that this is not so. And in the unhappy dispute of 1911, when the antagonism between the Irish Party and the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society was, I should say, at its height, a dominating figure in the co-operative movement, Fr. Finlay, declared: "I have confidence in the honesty of this Council [the Council of Agriculture] and their sense of honour."

Nevertheless, on questions which the Irish race rightly

[1] August Zaleski: *Poland's Case for Independence*, p. 30. (Allen & Unwin, 1916)

[2] Lionel Smith-Gordon and Laurence C. Staples: *Rural Reconstruction in Ireland* (King, 1917).

or wrongly considers vital these various parties speak without a mandate.

No serious statesman would deny the good work done by Mr. Dillon or Mr. William O'Brien. In a humdrum election, where personal loyalty and affection were among the factors in the contest, either might defeat a de Valera or a Eoin MacNeill. On one of these acid-test questions, however, which crop up once a century, a question like Catholic Emancipation or Conscription, there is little doubt as to whom the nation would choose as its mouthpiece. "Unity of opinion," says D. P. Moran, "is not a normal condition amongst an independent thinking population. In a moment of crisis a healthy nation will rise to it."[1] Judged by this unassailable theory Ireland is a healthy nation. When the great war blew its hot breath across the Irish Sea, Ireland rose and, whether rightly or wrongly is beside the point, gave its verdict. Whether the 1916 Rebellion was such a verdict can be disputed; not so the Anti-Conscription pledge.

Pearse, MacDonagh and Plunkett, young Ireland thinks, saved the race from national heresy: to follow the lead given by Mr. Redmond was for Ireland the unforgivable sin, the sin of taking up arms against her own imperishable ideals. Easter Week rang the call to be ready for 1918: 1918 found her ready. The unsuccessful attempt to perpetrate the shocking immorality of conscription, an attempt to make her fight by the side of her old and unrepentant enemy, showed that she had the sacred sanction of her own youth: to them the soul of Ireland had been won cheap even at the price of those whom Mr. Lloyd Morris calls "the finest and keenest intellects" in the country.

Sinn Fein translated into political action an idea that was given to Ireland by men like Moran, Sir Horace Plunkett and Eoin MacNeill. That idea was something quite different from the idea of Wolfe Tone. Wolfe Tone,

[1] *Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, c. iv.

anti-English and a rebel though he was, never grasped the eternal dissimilarity of the Gael and the Gall. Pearse had no new political philosophy. He Gaelicised the gospel of Wolfe Tone, and with it hammered the pulpit of the Irish nation until he had made sure we were awake. Kettle, on the other hand, was a thinker. His outlook was upon the whole world and Ireland a co-ordinated part of it as it then was. He was too cosmopolitan, no doubt. But he leant much upon the evangel of love. Round the rather heavy imperialism of his chief he flung an atmosphere of freshness that attracted the love of many in Ireland who regarded his theoretics with amusement or disdain.

"Thou shalt be Irish and not English."[1] Nerved by the inflexibility of the commandment, young Ireland has travelled years ahead of the party to which Tom Kettle belonged. That party has been decried harshly,[2] and they themselves would say irrelevantly, for their so-called subservience to the trading interests. Young Ireland believes that the Party have become declimatised by the atmosphere of Westminster. They were falling asleep in the spacious lap of the British Dalila. Whatever else it is, young Ireland's criticism is relevant.

The Nationalist Party fear the co-operative movement nearly as much as Sinn Fein. They have spent their lives in a fight for the emasculated self-determination of Home Rule. They regard the material prosperity which would follow co-operation as a false scent running off at a tangent from the trail that leads to the object of all their toil. Just so Danton and Desmoulins cared not a brass farthing for a million reforms as long as France was denied a real constitution. Now, to A.E. as to Hilaire Belloc a constitution like the British is the negation of true democracy.

Moreover, in Plunkett House the Nationalists see the possible headquarters of a hostile powerful agrarian

[1] *Philosophy of Irish Ireland*, c. iv.

[2] A.E.: *The National Being*, c. xv. (Maunsel, 1916).

political party. That is gall in their mouth. For it was the backing of Mr. Redmond in 1895 that enabled Sir Horace Plunkett to launch the Department of Agriculture.[1] In passing, this fact strikes me as a tribute to the statesmanlike tolerance of the nation, floundering as it then was in the mire of English constitutionalism. The heart of the nation was sound, and welcomed whatever was for the national good, no matter who fathered it. A tiny scratch upon the veneer of Anglicism at once disclosed the Gael. The Department thus fathered has been of great service to the country. It has no counterpart in any other European state. In spite of drawbacks its activities cover nearly every phase of national energy from herring-fishing off Kilkeel to painting from life in Dublin.[2] Is there a prophecy for the future in the *rapprochement* of the Department and the Co-operative Movement, to which Messrs. Staples and Smith-Gordon allude ?[3]

The Co-operative Movement might be said to have started with the triumphant failure of the Ralahine community on the Shannon. This owed its inception to the theories of Robert Owen. Later, the idea took various other forms, most of which laid stress on the economic motive alone. The co-operative movement which has now come to stay in Ireland differs from these in its comparative success, in the extent of the field over which it operates, and, most significant of all, in its motive and ideals. Eight years ago Sir Thomas Russell, who certainly held no brief for the co-operative movement, could state that it dealt with an annual turnover of two and a half millions. Its branches stretch from Donegal to Wexford. It is the pioneer of such societies in the United Kingdom. Irishmen, as we said before, are forwards in the game of thought. Its ambition is to develop in the agricultural community a spirit of emulation that would be more

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, April, 1904, pp. 535-6.
[2] Annual Report, D.A.T.I., 1916-7.
[3] *Rural Reconstruction in Ireland*, p. 203.

productive than the splenetic and uneconomic competition that too often rules to-day.

Its aim is the re-birth of Ireland. It seeks to make Ireland spiritually independent of England and of every other country. It transfers the idea of Sinn Fein from the plane of politics to that of economics. It would revivify the old Gaelic kindly communism which comprised at once an aristocracy of intellect and physique with a democracy of outlook and opportunity. Moran saw clearly the interdependence of the revival of Irish Industry and of the Gaelic Language. With a pen as virile as Martial's he satirised the "begors" and "alannas" of the books, the sunburstry of the politicians, the English tweeds that kept patriotic eloquence warm. He showed that the purchase of an Irish poplin tie might pluck its inspiration from the flame that consumed the funeral panegyric delivered by a Pearse or the epigram let fly by a Kettle. Love of Ireland, like every other love, should express itself in deeds, or if in talk, then Gaelic talk. For he, like most of those who impressed their personality upon the last thirty years, regards the Gaelic language as an essential buttress of the citadel of our nationhood. I have not time to examine their reasons. To my mind, however, the best argument for the value of the Irish language in preserving our nationality lies in the savage but futile, and often amusing, efforts made by the English government to crush it out of existence, from the time of the Tudors[1] down to the present day. A.E. carries the doctrine of Moran a step farther.

The poet of the co-operative movement finds in it the very principle of the harmony of all mankind. Ireland, ever rising to a higher and nobler ideal of spiritual and economic unity, will become once more the missionary of Europe, and of the whole world, and then the "elemental energies which break out in Armageddons will come under control."

[1] *State Policy in Irish Education* (*passim*).

To A.E. the co-operative movement is a deliberate reconstruction of Ireland on the basis of something like its old tribal ownership of land. That social order made Irishmen citizens, not selfish unrelated units. They "were groping towards the final solidarity of humanity—the federation of the world." With the best in us we must set ourselves to build up consciously a civilisation which will inherit the past and have about it the beauty and majesty of the empires of Egypt and of Greece and Rome. That there can be such a conscious building up of a civilisation is fascinatingly illustrated by the navalisation of the English people.

Irishmen show a "natural aptitude for combined action,[1]" due, no doubt, to the high development of the communal land system here, and to its long persistence among us. The nearest approach to this feature of Irish being is the nineteenth century system of peasant proprietorship in Russia, and the Russian *kustari*. These the Imperial Russian Government did its best to develop. A grant-in-aid was allotted to the Minister of Agriculture and Public Domains for that purpose. With the same object in view M. de Plehve increased in 1904 the number of places in which Jews were permitted to live.[2] But, although the *artels* of *Kustari* count over 15,000,000 members, [3] they are not included in Russian co-operative statistics. They have no unifying principle like the idea of the Irish sept. They are simply collections of individuals who want to buy cheap and sell dear. Still less, therefore, do they resemble the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, whose aim is the intellectual, physical, and artistic regeneration of a whole people unaided from without.

In that Society it is the idea that counts more than all. Of late years in Ireland "men have been filled with

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[1] *Rural Reconstruction in Ireland*, p. 37.

[2] Geoffrey Drage: *Russian Affairs*, p. 187. (John Murray, 1904).

[3] *Better Business*, May, 1918.

the idea which found its chief expression in the co-operative movement, and like the Sinn Fein movement insisted that the regeneration of Ireland must come from within. The Gaelic League has striven for the revival of the old Irish civilisation—its language and its artistic expressions. The Industrial Development Associations have taken a real part in the growth of a sound urban life." [1] Vari-coloured flowers from the same root.

The literature produced by Ireland in the last thirty years is perhaps the best witness to the enduring strength of that root idea, and to the compelling individuality of the Irish nation. Sinn Fein went back to pre-Constitutional days to find its standards. Cuchullain is the hero of Renascence literature. If its gods are pagans, they are Gaelic pagans. The characteristic of the Sinn Fein idea is its sincerity. The characteristic of the literature of the Renascence is "its desire to approach life in its simplest and most truthful terms." [2] The Sinn Fein idea has stripped the political question of all its frippery and left it naked. The writers of the Renascence are noteworthy for their steady gaze into the heart of life. The externals are brutally pushed aside.

Those queer people, half English, half Irish, like Ferguson, get far less attention now than in his day. Around the head of Ferguson floated the golden Gaelic clouds; the nether part of him never evolved out of its natal Egyptian slime: to him Victoria was always Victoria the Good.

The obvious and insincere sweetnesses of the lyrics of the Pale, with their tears and their smiles, their thoughtlessness and swagger, the rattle of the sabre of Lord Clare, all these things are gone, and the temple of modern Irish art is being built—where it ought to be—on the groundwork of solid Fact.

As typical of that attitude towards the problems of

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[1] *Rural Reconstruction in Ireland*, p. 244

[2] *Celtic Dawn*, p. 23.

Irish life Mr. Lloyd Morris quotes *The Plougher*, the poem of Padraic Colum :—

Sunset and silence! A man: around him earth savage, earth broken;
Beside him two horses—a plough!

Earth savage, earth broken, the dawn-man there in the sunset,
And the Plough that is twin to the Sword, that is founder of cities!

Brute-tamer, plough-maker, earth-breaker!
Canst hear? There are ages between us.
Is it praying you are as you stand there alone in the sunset?

Surely your thoughts are of Pan, or of Wotan, or of Dana?
Yet why give thought to the gods? Has Pan led your brutes where they stumble?
Has Dana numbed pain of the child-bed, or Wotan put hands to your plough?

What matter your foolish reply! O man, standing lone and bowed earthward,
Your task is a day near its close. Give thanks to the night-giving God.

Slowly the darkness falls, the broken lands blend with the savage;
The brute-tamer stands by the brutes, a head's breadth only above them.

A head's breadth? Ay, but therein is hell's depth, and the height up to heaven,
And the thrones of the gods and their halls, their chariots, purples and splendours.

From the reading of that poem many carry away a vague sense of sombre gloom and pitiless iron. I see in the fiery and defiant magnificence of its last stanza the *motif* that lent its pathos to the smoke and flames of O'Connell Street in Easter Week, and, though I disagree with him, I can understand how Mr. Lloyd Morris calls Padraic Colum the future poet of Ireland.[1]

[1] *Celtic Dawn*, p. 79.

That directness, almost ferocity, of gaze marks above all our drama. You could see it sometimes in the very mien of the men who wrote. Something finer than genius flashed out of the face of Synge. Waves of new artistic impulse have driven in upon Ireland from the ocean of pre-war social discontent surging over Europe. Under their impact, no doubt, this directness degenerates into brutality and gruesomeness. But that is transitory. At present in no country in Europe is there a more original, a more strongly marked, a more intensely national drama than there is in the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, not in Denmark or France or England. Plays like Yeats' *Kathleen ni Houlihan*, Padraic Colum's *Land*, and Synge's *Riders to the Sea* have already left the impress of their beauty and genius upon the permanent artistic achievement of the world. Mr. E. A. Boyd's book[1] has appeared at the right moment to signalise the fact. Like Mr. Lloyd Morris he sees in the Irish Dramatic Revival a part of that spiritual, economic and political awakening which is usually known as the Irish Renascence.

The work of the Abbey playwrights is a sign of the vitality of the soul of Ireland, a presage of the noonday soon to blaze. It is premature, I think, to compare their work, as Mr. Morris does, to the dramatic glory of Elizabethan England. But unquestionably it is the *abandon* of a vigorous national adolescence. Yeats, in a fine passage quoted by MacDonagh,[2] divides literature into two kinds, the literature of pictures and the literature of gesture. The first gives us Vergil's *Aeneid*; the second gives us *Macbeth*. The first is sorrowful, and comes from a nation when the tide of life is low; the second is delight-giving, and comes from a nation full of youth and health. To-day Ireland voices its need in gesture.

In that gesture there may be heroism rather than greatness. No one can deny the heroism of Easter Week,

[1] Ernest A. Boyd: *The Contemporary Drama of Ireland* (Talbot Press, 1918).
[2] Thomas MacDonagh: *Literature in Ireland*, p. 160 (The Talbot Press, 1916).

though he may deny the truth of Tetmajer's doctrine that the soldier alone is the defender of the honour of an enslaved nation. The greatness of Ireland is to come. Greatness does not pasture on oppression. Greatness grows out of a massiveness of character, a proud sense of responsibility, a calm foresight, a sobriety and breadth of judgment, and these are the virtues of a race that has self-government.

Ireland is fit to take up the task of liberty. She has fought a gallant fight for eight long centuries. If Poland has her Kosciuszko and Yerémi, Ireland has her Wolfe Tone and her Hugh O'Neill. If Poland has given the world a Sienkievicz and a Copernicus, Ireland gave it Erigena and the wonderful literature of the *Táin*. When you think of the haunting folk-melodies of Ireland, you feel sure her Chopin will come, to gather, as he did, the tears of a nation's sorrow into a chalice of music that will enthral the world. Not that her sorrow has embittered her; she has proved stronger than sorrow. Every possible agency has been used by a long line of English statesmen to stamp out the individuality of Ireland, and they have all failed. The adamantine hardness of her soul has conquered the greatness of Cecil, of Cromwell, and of Pitt. She, too, in the convulsion of the world, may repeat the prayer of Zygmunt Krasinski :—

"Not for hope—as a flower it is strewn; not for the destruction of our foes—their destruction dawns on to-morrow's clouds; not for the weapons of rule—from the tempests they will fall to us; not for any help—Thou hast opened already the field of events before us; but amidst the terrible convulsion of these events we beseech Thee only for a pure will within ourselves, O Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." [1]

PETER MCBRIEN.

[1] Monica Gardner: *Poland*, p. 171 (Burns & Oates, 1915).

THE DATE OF ST. COLUMBAN'S BIRTH.

BY HELENA CONCANNON, M.A.

IN a recent number of STUDIES (September, 1918) Rev. Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., submitted to careful criticism "the tentative chronology" which I found myself obliged to adopt in my *Life of St. Columban.* He took me to task, in a kindly way, for rejecting the "clear and consistent" testimony of Jonas, which, in his opinion, definitely fixes the birth year of St. Columban as 559-560. To his mind the issue is clear, and the choice inevitable. On the one hand, for the year 559-60 as the definite date of the Saint's birth there is "the excellent authority" of Jonas, *per testes oculatos optime instructus*; on the other, for the "tentative" date, 540, which I adopted, there is the questionable authority of "modern critics," misled by their failure to interpret aright a passage in one of the Saint's letters, and by their acceptance, as the genuine work of our Columban, of the *Epistola ad Fedolium*, which Mr. Gwynn, for his part, has no hesitation in pronouncing "spurious."

Dates may be very stubborn things—or as Mr. Gwynn, more elegantly, puts it, "the logic of dates is inexorable"—but they are very precious. For the sake of definite certainty about such an important point as the birth year of St. Columban one would sacrifice any number of theories no matter how attractive to their progenitor. And for my part, I am quite prepared to give up any in my book if it can be established, beyond reasonable doubt, that Columban *was* born in 559-60, as Mr. Gwynn holds.

Briefly, but I think quite fairly put, the first part of Mr. Gwynn's argument appears to be as follows. We know, on the authority of Jonas that Columban was thirty years old when he set out on his pilgrimage. We know, on the authority of one of the Saint's letters that he arrived in Gaul in 590-1. *Therefore we have the authority of Jonas* for the year 559-560 as that of the date of St. Columban's birth. Of course Mr. Gwynn is too clever a dialectician to present his argument so baldly that its break down *even in form* must be evident to the least skilled in logic—but that this is the argument I think cannot be denied.[1]

Having thus established the birth year of Columban on testimony which he *alleges* to be that of Jonas, Mr. Gwynn next proceeds to examine the value of this testimony, and especially to contrast it with the evidence on which Bruno Krusch bases his chronology of the Saint's life.

I propose, in the defence of my own position ("in having taken my chronology from modern critics"), for which the Editor of STUDIES kindly gives me an opportunity, to follow the order thus established. In the first place, the real testimony of Jonas will be submitted to the reader. In the second, he will be asked to consider the value of that testimony.

In the sixth chapter of his *Vita Columbani* (2) Jonas, having described the arrival of St. Columban and his companions in Gaul, writes :—

> Pervenit ergo fama Columbani *Sigiberti* regis ad aulam, qui *ex tempore* duobus regnis Austrasiorum Burgundionorumque inclitus regnabat Francis.

Now here we have the undoubted testimony of Jonas as to the date of Columban's arrival in Gaul, which he places in the reign of King Sigibert. Sigibert died in the year 575. Therefore the "clear and consistent" testimony

[1] STUDIES, pp. 475, 476, 480.
[2] I quote from Krusch's edition in *Mon. Ger. His., SS.R.M.*, iv., p. 72.

of Jonas fixes the date of the Saint's arrival before 575. In adopting the date 590-1, Mr. Gwynn has made himself guilty of the offence with which he charges me: he has taken this item in his chronology from modern critics—or at least he has gone for it, not to the "authentic biography by Jonas," but to a letter from a certain "Columba peccator" (who may, or may not, have been Columban, the Abbot of Luxeuil) "to the fathers of a certain Gallican Synod" (which may, or may not, have been that of 602-3).

"If we look only to the testimony of Jonas," then we must place the date of Saint Columban's arrival in Gaul before 575. What was the age assigned to him by his biographer at this period?

Here, as Mr. Gwynn has pointed out in his article, a difficulty arises, owing to an uncertain *lectio*. Some MSS. of the *Vita Columbani* read "*vicesimum* ergo aetatis annum agens"; others *tricesimum*. Which is the true reading? Which, in other words, did Jonas write?

Mr. Gwynn holds that *tricesimum* is the true reading—and, so convinced is he of its correctness that he builds his whole argument on it—nay, he even alters the very text which he professes to quote. He tells us that he quotes from Migne as "most accessible." And his quotation runs as follows :—

> Tricesimum (al. vicesimum) ergo aetatis annum agens arrepto itinere cum duodecim comitibus Christo duce ad litus maris accedunt.

If the reader will go to the trouble of looking up this passage in Migne (*Pat. Lat.* 87, col. 1017), he will find that the text actually gives *vicesimum*, though the variant *tricesimum* is given in the note, on the authority of a Saint Germain Codex.

The Migne text is that of Mabillon, and it will be admitted that Mabillon thought *vicesimum* the true reading since it was the one he adopted. In fact all the editors of the *Vita Columbani*, whose editions I have had

the opportunity of consulting have adopted the reading *vicesimum* (with, however, some variety of spelling). Thus Fleming (*Collectanea Sacra*, Louvain, 1667, p. 219) :—

> Vigesimum ergo aetatis annum agens arrepto itinere cum duodecim Fratribus [marginal note, "comitibus"] Christo duce, ad littus maris accedunt.

Messingham (*Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum*, Paris, 1624) reads *vicesimum*.

Bruno Krusch, "for whose diligence in preparing an accurate text," Mr. Gwynn rightly holds "no praise is too high," in his critical edition of the *Vita Columbani* in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (*Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, IV.), reads thus (p. 70) :—

> Vicensimum ergo aetatis annum agens, arrepto itinere, cum duodecim comitibus Christo duce ad litus maris accedent.

Now here we have on the one hand Mabillon, Messingham, Fleming, Krusch agreed in the opinion that Jonas placed the arrival of Columban in Gaul in the Saint's twentieth year. On the other we have Mr. Gwynn "preferring" the reading *tricesimum*. I do not for one moment dispute his right to do so—but for his opinion to carry sufficient weight that others will reject in favour of it that of men like Mabillon, Fleming and Krusch we must know something of his competence in textual criticism—and especially his equipment for such a difficult and delicate task (requiring very specialised and accurate knowledge of Merovingian grammatical and linguistic usage, of palaeography, etc.) as the reconstruction of the text of Jonas. In the case of the other critics we have the necessary guarantees of competence. To take one case, that of Bruno Krusch alone, we know from the tributes of the Bollandists (*Analecta Bollandiana*, XV., XXII., XXIV.) what other scholars think of his scholarship and its results. We know from his own editions of the *Vita Columbani*, and his *critique* of Dr. Jackson

Lawlor's "Manuscripts of the Vita S. Columbani" in the *Neues Archiv für altere deutsche Geschichtskunde* (Vol. 29, pp. 445-463), something of his critical methods. We know that for his first edition of the *Vita* in the *Monumenta* he utilised, and classified in his preface some forty MSS., and six others in his *Addenda*. For his second edition (the school edition of 1905) he examined one hundred and twenty MSS., "that is to say, according to a reviewer (in *Anal. Boll.*, xxiv., p. 490), "all those that are actually known to exist."

I do not think Mr. Gwynn can have gone to the trouble of reading Krusch's critical note very carefully when he interprets it as giving authority for his view that "the weight of MSS. evidence between the two readings is evenly balanced." It is true that of the two groups into which Krusch divides the MSS. A "is almost unanimous in favour of *vicesimum*," "B gives *tricesimum*." But for the weight of evidence to be evenly balanced the authority of the B group would have to be proved equal to that of A. Krusch distinctly says that this is not the case. To the A class belong *Codex Sangallensis, n.* 553, and its cognates. The B class are the "Italian" group, which have undergone a slight "touching up" (*vide* Introduction to Krusch's edition of the *Vita* in *Mon. Ger. His., loc. cit.*, pp. 36 and 43). In deciding which group stood nearer to the lost autograph of Jonas, Krusch availed himself of the evidence supplied by the Chronicle of the so-called Fredegarius, in which chapters 18-20 of the *Vita* are reproduced. Where A and B differ among themselves, Fredegarius almost always supports A, and Krusch therefore argues that A more correctly reproduces the very ancient text of Jonas from which Fredegarius made his extracts—and for this reason he considers the A class the more authoritative. For the basis of his own edition he uses mainly the MS. he classifies $A1_a$, viz. the tenth century St. Gall MS., n. 553. And both he and Dr. Jackson Lawlor are agreed as to the superlative

excellence of this MS. Now this MS. gives *vice : simum*, and Krusch, conjecturing an erased "n," reads in his text *vicensimum*, as we have seen.

Here, then, we have the judgment of the best editors, and the evidence of the best MSS. supporting *vicesimum* (however they spell it) as the true reading. In adopting it the editors doubtless bore in mind the well-known canon of textual criticism thus formulated by Griesbach : "Difficilior et obscurior lectio anteponenda est ei in qua omnia tam plena sunt et extricata, ut librarius quisque intelligere ea poterit." Any scribe could see that "vicesimum" was wrong, as a statement of fact ; and many scribes would be tempted to change it to the more probable *tricesimum*. But if Jonas really wrote *tricesimum* it would take an abnormally stupid and careless scribe—such as the scribe of *Codex Sangallensis, n.* 553, certainly was *not*—to alter it to *vicesimum*. To my own mind this argument quite proves that Jonas did *not* write *tricesimum*. I may remark, in this connection, that all the manuscript tradition consistently shows that the word, whichever it was, was written in full—not as a Roman numeral, as Mr. Gwynn's note suggests.

It is not to be denied, however, that there is good MS. evidence for *tricesimum*, viz., the MS. classified by Krusch, $B1_a$ (*Codex Taurinensis bib. nat.*, F. iv., 26). We may allow, therefore, that it is doubtful whether Jonas wrote that Columban was twenty or thirty when he arrived in Gaul. In either case his evidence is fatal to Mr. Gwynn's date of 559-60 as that of the Saint's birth year. If we are to go for our chronology to "the authentic biography" of Jonas, we must place the date of the Saint's birth, at the very latest, before 555. If the reading *tricesimum* is correct, the birth year must necessarily be placed *before* 545, and the suggested date 540 which I adopted in my "tentative chronology" thus re-emerges. In this case the evidence from Jonas not being in the least in conflict with the evidence of the *Epistola ad Fedolium*,

the authenticity of the latter need not necessarily be denied. Nor, it may be added, need the passage in the letter[1] to "the fathers of a certain Gallican synod" be strained to give the sense Mr. Gwynn requires to support his date 559-560. We need not assume, in the face of all probability, that Columban, the leader and chief of the *veterani pauperes et peregrini senes*, for whom he pleads so pathetically, was himself very much younger than they —in fact, a hale young man of forty-two or forty-three— while his companions were decrepit old men.

In arguing thus, we have accepted the correctness of the reading *tricesimum*, and the evidence of Jonas, which places the arrival in Gaul in the reign of King Sigibert. But Krusch and those others who hold that the true reading is *vicesimum*, and that Columban did not arrive in Gaul until at least fifteen years after Sigibert's death, have found themselves obliged to seek in other sources the correct dates of the Saint's life. Jonas was obviously wrong, they say, in making Columban a young man of twenty at the date of his departure from Ireland. He was also wrong in placing his arrival in Gaul in the reign of King Sigibert, who *never was King of the Burgundians*.[2] Jonas was remarkably ignorant of Frankish history, and remarkably careless of those facts in which he was not sufficiently interested. For the chronology of the Life of St. Columban, not Bruno Krusch alone, but almost everyone else (including Mr. Gwynn) has gone to other sources. The only chronological argument universally accepted from Jonas is his date for the expulsion from Luxeuil, "vicesimo anno post incolatum eremi illius," which fixes the date of the foundation of Luxeuil in 590,

[1] I think Mr. Gwynn, in his interpretation of the passage, has not sufficiently borne in mind that the Latinity of the Saint is not Ciceronian, but Merovingian, and that *istos* in Merovingian Latin is equivalent in meaning to its derivatives in the Romance languages (Spanish, *este*; Italian, *questo*; Old French, *ceste*).

[2] It was only under Childebert II., son of Sigibert, that the two kingdoms of the Burgundians and Austresians were united after the death of King Gunttram in 592.

in agreement with the evidence of the letter of Columban to the Gallican Synod.

Krusch, then, went for his chronology to the sources Mr. Gwynn indicates. In accepting the authenticity of the *Epistola ad Fedolium* he was in remarkably good company: Fleming, Usher, Messingham, Gallandus, Fabricius, Goldastus, Sirmondus; and among the moderns, Gundlach, Manitius, and the Abbé Martin. The MS. evidence is very good. Codex Berolinus, Diez B. Sant. 66, which contains it, is an eighth century MS.—it is, in other words, two centuries earlier than the earliest existing MS. of the *Vita Columbani*. In this MS. the poem bears the superscription *Columbanus Fitolio Fratri*. In the ninth century *Codex Sangallensis* 273 the superscription reads :—"Versus Sancti Columbani ad Fedolium." In Bobbio, therefore, in the eighth century the poem was looked on as the work of a Columban. Note that when this attribution was made, the Saint was only a century dead. I submit that if another poet of the name of Columban had appeared among the community in the short interval, he would not have remained, in that unlettered age, "an obscure monk of the name." In Saint Gall's monastery a century later the attribution is definitely made to Saint Columban. The evidence is not conclusive, I admit. But it is sufficiently convincing to most minds. And if Mr. Gwynn, in face of it, dubs the *Epistola ad Fedolium* "spurious," he shows a degree of courage for which he will find few emulators.

Helena Concannon.

The Reply of our Contributor.

[Before answering Mrs. Concannon's objections, I wish to make it quite plain that I have not differed from her out of any disrespect for her learning or judgment. My own interest in the problems which concern the career of St. Columban is due wholly to the study of her book. Moreover, the point as to which I have questioned her conclusions is one on which she has followed the best continental criticism. The burden of proof rests, therefore, with me.

The main contention which I urged in my article was that Jonas is a trustworthy witness as to the age of our saint. When Mrs. Concannon argues that I have misrepresented his evidence, I can only point out a grave inconsistency in her statement of the case. At the end of her article she defines the date 590-1 for the foundation of Luxeuil as "the only chronological argument universally accepted from Jonas"; yet in her opening criticisms she claims the "undoubted testimony of Jonas" for the year 575 as the latest possible date of Columban's arrival in Brittany. Now we know from Jonas (c. 4) that Columban only stayed a short time ("paulisper") in Brittany, and then, after a preaching tour through Gaul, was invited to found a monastery in Burgundy. How, then, are we to reconcile Mrs. Concannon's two statements? The truth is that the earlier date (575) is deduced from a blunder as to an historical name made by Jonas. Sigibert, as Mrs. Concannon herself admits, must be a mistake for either Gunthram or Childibert, and no chronological argument can be drawn from the error. The real evidence of Jonas, which agrees with the evidence of St. Columban's letter, is for 590-1, and it was cited by me as such in my article (p. 475, n. 4.)

Mrs. Concannon is right in taking me to task for not having entered more fully into the textual question involved in my reading of *tricesimum*. The best MS. (with those derived from it) has *vicesimum*, but *tricesimum* has the authority of B.1a (and its derivatives), a MS. second only in importance to A.1a, the best of the A group. The reading is, therefore, open. I read *tricesimum* because I hold it to be most improbable that Jonas, who took great pains to write an accurate biography, should make a statement which plainly contradicts his previous narrative. Even though the evidence for *tricesimum* as the original reading were weak, this argument would still hold; but the evidence is strong, and there seems to me to be little room for hesitation. Krusch, and those critics, who, for external reasons, attach no importance to the testimony of Jonas on this point, adopt the reading of the best MS.; but none of them would argue that this reading has more than a probable value. On purely palaeographical grounds it is slightly preferable; but (with all respect to Mrs. Concannon) the question is not one of pure palaeography.

One last word as to the "Epistola ad Fedolium." The evidence, given so clearly by Mrs. Concannon at the end of her article, is of interest. In the eighth century, a hundred years after the saint's death, the poems in question bear the superscription "Columbanus."

A hundred years more, and a St. Gall MS. calls them "Versus Sancti Columbani." As Mrs. Concannon says, "the evidence is not conclusive"; but it certainly looks as though the attribution to the saint were late in the field. My hypothesis of an unknown Columbanus (perhaps a monk of either St. Gall or Bobbio) is not certain, but it is borne out by the evidence as far as it goes. Even the most cautious critic must admit that the attribution of the poems to our saint, made by a St. Gall MS. two centuries after his death, is doubtful and needs the support of external or internal evidence. Instead, our choice lies between this attribution and the trustworthiness of Jonas on a point as to which he had every opportunity of obtaining accurate information.—AUBREY GWYNN.]

LAST VOYAGE.

OH, let there not be moaning and sad wail,
Oh, let there not be sighs and bitter tears,
When for the shadowy region of lost years
I me prepare in Death's dark ship to sail;
For I may not that great appointment fail,
Nor need I dread the angriest wave that rears,
Since Death a master mariner is and steers
The stoutest craft that ever weathered gale;
But let there be brave instruments in play
Breathing of high adventure on strange sea,
And to their music let me glide away
And, sweeping o'er that course of mystery,
In God's vast harbour dash 'mid bursting spray
With tackle trim and streamers fluttering free!

JOHN BUNKER.

NOCTURNE.

THOU, whom all the stars obey
And the lightning on the hills,
While the laughing spirits play
In thy robes and maniples,
Hear, as over wood and meadow,
Mute at even, falls the shadow
Of thy wings upon the day.

Like a child doth nature sleep
With her elflocks all uncurled,
Like a child she sleepeth deep
Cradled in the daedal world,
And the face that she upturneth
With the kiss of thee now burneth
Stooping from the heaven's steep.

Though the world will lose thee soon,
All the world has found thee now;
As the billows to the moon,
Now to thee the spirits bow,
And the tide of spirits reaches,
Flooding thy long skiey beaches,
To the ramp of heaven's dune.

As an image swift and brief
Rises through a silent pond
Up to meet a falling leaf
Shaken from the flowery frond,
Thou from thy high seat art bending,
And the souls of men ascending
From the bosom of their grief.

Adonai, O Lord of Love,
  Why wilt thou be silent still,
While my spirit gropes above
  After thee, Inscrutable ?
Why am I thus reft of feeling
Of the breath upon me stealing
  Which the universe doth move ?

I have drunk of Lethe's streams
  Till I sleep the sleep of life,
And thy truth comes but in dreams
  With the dreams of day at strife ;
Come then, my beloved, fleetly
Ere the leaping morning featly
  Spear the night with steely gleams.

Come upon thy wings of air,
  Come with speed of many winds,
To the stagnant waters where
  Loneliness my spirit binds ;
Come like tempest on allayment,
Come with thunder in thy raiment
  And the lightning in thy hair.

Lift me from the cruel earth
  Where I prostrate lie and bleed,
At thy passing draw me forth,
  Gather me to thee with speed ;
Gather me to thee with singing
Ere the hours of night go winging
  All th' eternal heavens' girth.

Arthur Little.

I WANDERED DOWN BY SORROW'S FLOOD.

I wandered down by Sorrow's flood :
And I did gather broken staves
That had been washed up by its waves.

Then, as I bore my bundle home,
A strange, wild warmth betook my blood :
And I did spend the whole night long
Making of staves bruised by that foam
Fuel for the fires of Song.

EGBERT SANDFORD.

TIME AND ETERNITY.[1]

IF that our life is less than one short day
Set in eternity, if each new year
Sweeps off its finished hours in swift career ;
If nought is born save unto sure decay :
What dreamest thou, pent in thy house of clay,
My soul ? Why lovest thou the dimness here,
And stirrest not those wings that fain would steer
Thy course to lands where light holds endless sway ?
There is the good that every heart desires,
There the repose to which mankind aspires ;
There, too, of love and pleasure is full store :
There, O my soul, to highest heaven led,
Thou shalt behold the very fountain head
Of loveliness which I on earth adore.

J. S. MACARTHUR.

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[1] THE ORIGINAL.

1. Si notre vie est moins qu'une journée
En l'éternel, si l'an qui fait le tour
Chasse nos jours sans espoir de retour,
Si périssable est toute chose née,

2. Que songes-tu mon âme emprisonnée?
Pourquoi te plaît l'obscur de notre jour,
Si pour voler en un plus clair séjour
Tu as au dos l'aile bien empennée ?

3. Là est le bien que tout esprit désire,
Là le repos où tout le monde aspire,
Là est l'amour, là le plaisir encore.
Là, ô mon âme au plus haut ciel guidée,
Tu y pourras reconnaître l'idée
De la beauté qu'en ce monde j'adore.

JOACHIM DU BELLAY.

UNPUBLISHED IRISH POEMS.

V.—A Begging Letter.

EDITED BY PROFESSOR OSBORN BERGIN, PH.D.

The following appeal is addressed to the learned Franciscan, Flaithrí O Maoilchonaire, in English Florence Conry. He had been Aodh Ruadh's confessor, had sailed for Spain with him after the defeat of Kinsale, and had stood beside his death-bed at Simancas. In 1609 he was consecrated Archbishop of Tuam. He founded the College of St. Anthony in Louvain, and here he published an Irish translation of the Spanish devotional work, *El Desseoso*. His father's name was Fítheal, which suggests a reference to the legendary Flaithrí and his father, the wise Fítheal, chief counsellor of Cormac mac Airt.

The author was Fearghal Og Mac an Bhaird, sometime poet to the O'Donnells, who was involved in the ruin of their house. He complains bitterly of the hardships he has to suffer in exile. In another poem he prays for grace to emulate Job, whom he quaintly depicts as a medieval saint wandering from castle to castle and begging for alms in the name of the Virgin. Fearghal Og is noted for his smooth and simple style, and a brother poet chaffingly accuses him of composing in the open air, instead of retiring to a dark room to polish his verses as the professional bard was trained to do.

The poem proper ends with §19; the next two quatrains were added when copies were sent to other benefactors, and the last is an appeal of the usual type to the poet's patron saint. All such supplementary verses must end like the original in the opening word or syllable of the poem. It is here edited from the O'Conor Don's Book. I have silently normalised the accents, but when I have altered a letter the MS. reading is given in the footnote.

OSBORN BERGIN.

FEARGHAL OG MAC AN BHAIRD CCT.

1. Fúarus iongnadh, a fhir chumainn,
cádhus úatha ní fhúair mé,
na dáoine dar dhúal ar n-ionramh,
as úar[1] náoidhe an t-iongnadh é.

2. Meisi folamh, féch nach diongna,
's dáoine dáora ar nár dhúal gean
sunna ón Spáin ag agháil[2] ionmhuis
a n-anáir chláir bhionnghlais Bhreagh.

[1] fhuar. [2] fagh—.

3. Mná anúaisle buirb is bathluigh
a mbeartaibh óir san aird thall
atáid trá agus sinn gan édáil,
dar linn atá égáir ann.

4. Re foluibh ísli fhuinn Luighdheach
dár las um chorp crithir thnúidh,
a mhic Fíthil ó íadh[1] Enna,
grían do dhíthil déna dhúin.

5. A cheinnbhile chathrach Túama,
tuig cheana nach cubhaidh rinn
gan bheith a ngoire d'fuil úasail,
cuir ó chroidhe súasain sinn.

6. Thíar do[2] fhágbhus earr mo chonáigh,
mo chéidní ó do chaith mé ;
má atá do thal leam, a Fhlaithrí,
budh geall damh ré haithní é.

7. Nír bheag let athair mar iongnadh
gan m'ana ag fás, foirfe an coll,
is toice ag fás ag mac moghadh,[3]
a shlat dár fhás toradh trom.

8. Cing Artúir, úaithne na talmhan,
trén ar an mbioth do bhí sé ;
teacht 'na dhál do dhligh gach duine,
do thil clár na cruinne cé.

9. Bíadh ná cuirm ní chaitheadh Artúr
gan iongnadh núa,[4] núaidhe in barr,
go hég íar rúachtain san ríghe,
gég úachtair na tíre thall.

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[1] íath. [2] d. [3] modh—. [4] nuadh.

10. Ní léigfind dó, díochra an bhríathar,
dá mbeinn ann an úair do mhair,
rí an chruine na ccosgar ccoimhthe,
luighe[1] is trosgadh oidhche air.

11. San Bhord Chruinn ar chomhair Artúir
do inneósuinn a hucht m'ord
mé fá[2] bhrón tré bheith a n-anchruth,
is ór ar breith bathlach mborb.

12. Do chaithfeadh a chuid ó'd-chluinfeadh
clanna ladrann lán do mhoirn,
is méd mh'anshóidh fá fhuil nGáoidheal
ní fhuil anóir áoidheadh oirn.

13. A ccúirt Labháin na learg ccorcra
ar comhroinn thoir atá mé,
mar tám is ionnsa lem aithghin,
nár liomsa dom aithribh é.

14. Atá seanbháidh ag slait Thúama
risin ttreibh ó ttáinig sinn,
má tá sin a mbun na báidhe,
do dhligh cur a láimhe linn.

15. San aimsir dob ollamh fileadh
Flaithrí mac Fíthil fúair áoibh,
do bhíadh connailbhe 'na chroidhe,
sgíath comairghe Mhoighe Máoin.

16. Reulta eólais érlamh nUisnigh,
airdeasbag Connacht, cruth fíal,
sáoi do mhol gach file fíre,
cridhe sgol na tíre[3] thíar.

[1] luidhe. [2] sa. [3] thíre.

17. Eigne Bhúille, bradán Chonga,
craobh do lubhghort leasa Té,
ésga[1] órrtha ar nár fhás dubhadh,
sás mórtha na n-umhal é.

18. Sruith díadha[2] nach dearna formad,
flaith corónta chosnus tnúdh,[3]
buinne milis a táobh tolcha,
iris náomh nach ronnfa a rún.

19. Ua Cuinn chédchathaigh Cnuic Mhaisdion,
mac Onóra, eineach búan,
tamhan úr ón Bhanbha bhráointe,
rún m'anma, fáoilti nach fúar.
Fuar.

20. Mag Aonghusa, aigneadh faoilidh,
fáilte ghnáth do-gheibhinn úadh,
do bhíodh a thoil ar tí a dáilte,
nírbh í soin an fháilte fhúar.

21. Conn mac I Rúairc na renn ndoinnte,
damhna Connacht, cneas mar úan,
a dhá chaomthach re feadh bfaghla,
cáolshruth sean is adhbha fhúar.

22. Téighim tar teaguscc na n-easbal
tre aithighidh na n-olc mbúan,
eagal mo char[4] as a chumann,[5]
ná rabh Peadar umam fúar.[6]
Fúarus.

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[1] ésg. [2] díagha. [3] clú no tnúdh. [4] chor. [5] chomonn.
[6] Alliteration requires the older *úar*, but *fúar* is written to recall the opening word of the poem.

Translation.

1. I have found a marvel, my friend—no reverence have I found from people to whom it were fitting to wait upon me.
2. That I am empty—see whether this be not a thing to mark, while base folk, unworthy of regard, are here receiving riches from Spain in honour of the sweet green plain of Bregha.
3. Vulgar wives of churl and clown are yonder in golden raiment, while I lack wealth—I deem it unjust.
4. Against the low-born families of Lughaidh's land,[1] which have caused a spark of envy to kindle within me, O son of Fítheal from Enna's land, show unto me the sunlight of thy earnest care.
5. O stately tree of the city of Tuam, think in sooth that it is unbecoming for me not to be in company with noble blood; lift me up with good will.
6. In the west I have left the end of my success, since I have spent my first fortune; if thou art well-minded towards me, O Flaithrí, it will be to me a pledge of a second fortune.
7. Thy father would have held it no small wonder that my possessions grow not—complete is the ruin—while a serf's son finds his riches growing, O thou branch from which has grown rich fruit!
8. King Arthur, the prop of the world, was mighty upon earth; every man was bound to pay court to him, he ruled the plain of this world.
9. Arthur never took food nor drink without some new marvel—strange was the addition—until his death, when he had attained sovranty, he the topmost branch of yonder land.
10. Had I been there while he lived, that world-king of blazing triumphs, I had not—I say it sincerely—let him go fasting to bed a single night.
11. At the Round Table, in Arthur's presence, I should have told him on behalf of my order how I am sorrowful because I am in evil plight, while coarse churls have gold at their disposal.
12. He would take his meal when he heard how the children of robbers are full of merriment, and how great is my misery among the blood of the Gaels—the honour due to a guest is not mine.
13. In the court of Louvain of the purple slopes I am lodged with others here in the east; my state is hard for one like me, I think it a shame to my fathers.
14. The rod of Tuam hath an old love for the house from which I come; if he still keeps the love he ought to hold out his hand to me.
15. When Flaithrí son of Fítheal the comely was a master-poet there would have been kindness in his heart—that shield that protected Magh Maoin.[2]
16. Guiding star of the patrons of Uisneach, Archbishop of Connacht, noble figure, sage whom every true poet has praised, heart of the schools in the western land.
17. Salmon[3] of the Boyle, salmon[3] of Cong, branch of the orchard of Té's Fortress,[4] golden moon whereon no eclipse has spread, exalter of the humble.
18. Godly elder never envious, crowned prince who wins devotion, sweet stream gushing from the hillside, saintly faith that will not divide its purpose.
19. Descendant of Conn of the Hundred Fights of Cnoc Maisdean,[5] son of Onóra,[6] lasting honour, fresh stalk from warm moist Banbha, desire of my heart, welcome that is never cold.
20. Magennis of the joyous nature, constant welcome I was wont to get from him, his love was always ready to be bestowed, that was no cold welcome.
21. Conn, son of O Ruairc of the red spear-points, heir to Connacht, skin like the foam; his two comrades on a foray were an ancient slender stream and a cold dwelling.
22. I transgress the teaching of the Apostles by my practice of constant evils. I fear Peter may drive me from his society—may he not be cold towards me.

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[1] Lughaidh and Enna were legendary kings of Ireland.

[2] Otherwise Maonmhagh, the plain lying round Loughrea, in Co. Galway.

[3] In the original there are two words for "salmon."

[4] Lios Té, a variant of Múr Té, the conventional equivalent of Teamhair, etymologically explained as Té-múr.

[5] Mullaghmast in Co. Kildare.

[6] This common name, now shortened to Nóra, came in with the Anglo-Normans.

THE NATIONAL PROBLEM IN SYRIA AND MESOPOTAMIA.

BY EDMOND POWER, S.J., D.LITT.ORIENT.

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AMONG the problems claiming the attention of the Peace Conference is that of making safe for democracy the long oppressed and now happily liberated peoples of Syria and Mesopotamia. The matter, it is true, had already been regulated by one of the secret treaties, that between England, France and Russia in 1916. According to this document, in as far as it regards the countries with which we are concerned, England was to receive Mesopotamia south of a line drawn a little above Baghdad with the ports of Caiffa and Acre in Palestine. France's share was all Western Syria except the little city of Alexandretta, which was to be an international free port. The three vilayets of Damascus, Aleppo and Mosul, which make up Eastern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia, were to form one or more independent Arab states. It subsequently became a matter of general belief that France's portion also included much of Galilee and that the three vilayets were to form three kingdoms for the three sons of the Grand Sherif Husain, King of the Hejaz. Finally came the announcement that England by another secret treaty had given Damascus to the Grand Sherif.

When the first treaty became known there was considerable dissatisfaction among the French, who considered themselves entitled to all Syria; and since the victorious outcome of the war this dissatisfaction has been loudly

expressed. The French government at first assumed the position that the secret treaty had an absolutely transitory character—was, in fact, what we now call a scrap of paper. The programme of France at the Conference should be to secure for herself the reconstitution of an integral, independent and federative Syria. Then came a sudden *volte face* on December 29. MM. Briand and Pichon declared that France and England considered themselves absolutely bound by the terms of the treaty and would uphold them at the Conference when they came up for discussion. The matter has since been discussed, and all that is certainly known, at the time of writing, of the decision arrived at is that the peoples in question are to be committed to the tutelage of the League of Nations, which will assign the task of making them fit for complete self-government to one or more of the Powers composing it—in all probability to the two most interested. It is not our intention in this article to treat of the real or pretended interests and claims of these two Powers. Basing ourselves on the great and recognised principle of auto-decision, we prefer to give a brief account of the national problem from the point of view of the character and religion, interests, and aspirations of the Syrians and Mesopotamians themselves.

A line drawn from the south-eastern corner of Asia Minor to the south-western extremity of the Caspian Sea separates the northern Asiatic provinces of the ancient Ottoman Empire (Anatolia, Armenia and Kurdistan) from the southern ones of Syria and Mesopotamia. The natural boundary thus provided by the Taurus, Karaja Dagh and Tur Abdin mountains is also racial and linguistic; but, as generally happens, it is not a clean-cut one in either sense. Indigenous Arameans and Arabic immigrants form the main stock of the Syrians and Mesopotamians, though, of course, various other races passed in the course of ages through these great highways of the world and mingled with the original inhabitants. Kurds and Armenians are fairly numerous along the

northern frontiers of both countries. Persians are plentiful in Southern Mesopotamia, whither they are particularly attracted by the sacred shrines of Kerbela and Nedjef. Circassians from the Caucasus and Turcomans from Central Asia have been sparsely planted in Syria in recent times. Jews are to be found in all the larger cities, especially Baghdad, where they form a fourth of the population, and where, apparently, a glorious financial future awaits them. It is in Northern Mesopotamia and Western Syria that the more ancient Aramean element is best preserved owing to the survival of Christianity in these districts. But no racial question divides the two preponderating elements. Arameans and Arabs have become so mixed in most places that it would be quite impossible to distinguish them.

The unity of language is greater than that of race, for Arabic is now the universal tongue. Only in a few small Mesopotamian districts and in one or two Syrian villages is an Aramean dialect still in use. In the north, however, owing to the mixture of races, there are some linguistic varieties. Turkish is spoken at Urfa, the ancient Edessa ; some Armenian may be heard at Aleppo and Mardin, where there are large Armenian colonies ; and Kurdish is the language of many country districts of North Mesopotamia. During the millennium, which preceded the Arabic invasion of the seventh century, Aramaic was the common tongue. Gradually, however, it had to yield to Arabic and become the language of sacred liturgy and science—the Latin of most eastern Christians.

Community of language and race are not the only factors which go to produce national unity. Religion and culture, geography and history strongly affect nationality. Religion is the most important of these factors in the east, as it has long been officially identified with nationality, and orientals have great difficulty in believing that they can have common national interests with those who differ from them in faith.

The populations of Syria and Mesopotamia before the war were two and a half and one and a half millions respectively—a little less combined than that of Ireland, which they surpass about seven times in area. The inhabitants represent mainly six different religions. More than two and a half millions are Mohammedans, more than a million Christians, nearly 200,000 Nosairis, 125,000 Druses, 100,000 Jews and 75,000 Yezidis. The Jews chiefly inhabit the large cities. The Nosairis, Yezidis and Druses are mountaineers and dwell mostly, as separate communities, in the mountains bearing their names in North-West Syria, North Mesopotamia and East Palestine respectively. The Druses are also mixed with Christians and Moslems in South Lebanon and North Galilee. The two principal religions are everywhere represented, but the Christians are relatively more numerous in Syria, where they are a third of the population, than in Mesopotamia, and are in the majority in West Syria. The autonomous district of Mount Lebanon is 83 per cent. Christian.[1]

The vast majority of the Mohammedans belong to the Sunni or orthodox branch. The Shiah sectaries are most

[1] It will be useful to give some statistics showing the relative proportion of Christians and Mohammedans in the principal cities. All our figures, though based on a comparative study of the best available sources, claim only to give an approximate presentation of pre-war conditions. They may be said to show the entire population of the cities mentioned except in the case of Damascus, Aleppo and Baghdad, which have 60,000 Jews between them.

		Mohammedans.	Christians.
West Syria ...	Beyrouth ...	50,000	100,000
	Tripoli ...	25,000	12,000
	Ladakiye ...	12,000	10,000
	Antioch ...	24,000	4,000
	Alexandretta ...	6,000	6,000
East Syria ...	Damascus ...	250,000	40,000
	Homs ...	40,000	20,000
	Hama ...	47,000	3,000
	Aleppo ...	160,000	80,000
Mesopotamia ...	Basra ...	25,000	5,000
	Baghdad ...	110,000	10,000
	Mosul ...	45,000	15,000
	Mardin ...	30,000	20,000
	Urfa ...	35,000	15,000

numerous in South Mesopotamia and count moreover two distinct groups of adherents in Syria, the Metonalis, or followers of Ali, and the Ismailis or followers of Ismail. According to all the Shiahs the supreme religious and political power belonged by divine right to Ali, Mohammed's nephew and son-in-law, and was transmitted by him to a certain line of direct descendants called Imams. The general view admits twelve of these, the last of whom, Mohammed el-Muntazar, is supposed to be hidden away somewhere and expected to appear again before the end of the world as the Mahdi, or promised restorer of Islam. The Ismailis, however, only recognise six of the twelve, and assign the role of last Imam and expected Mahdi to Ismail, the brother of the seventh.

The Metonalis, about 100,000 in number, dwell at Tyre, Sidon, Baalbek and on Mount Lebanon, especially in the district of Kesronan, whence they send a member to the Libanese Administrative Council of Twelve. They are largely foreigners, but so long settled in Syria that their place of origin is uncertain. Some say that they are descended from Persian colonists planted in Syria in the seventh century. Others more probably trace them to the Carmathians, a famous Shiah sect of Persian origin that became very powerful in Arabia about 900 A.D.

The Ismailis are the direct descendants of the Persian "Assassins," who became so notorious in the time of the Crusaders and enriched European languages with one of their least ornamental epithets. The name is derived from a drug, "Hashish," which gave its consumers a foretaste of the joys of paradise and encouraged them to perform any act of daring or wickedness commanded by their Grand Master, the "Old Man of the Mountain." In 1102 they transferred themselves from Persia to Syria, where they were very powerful until dispersed by the Mongols in the middle of the thirteenth century. The present Syrian remnants of the sect, who dwell to the

number of about 10,000 on the Nosairi Mountain, pursue peaceful avocations but retain their old religious fanaticism.

The Syrian and Mesopotamian Christians have also their differences and divisions. The Catholics number half a million in Syria and 64,000 in Mesopotamia, the non-Catholics 350,000 and 110,000. The orthodox Greeks (who adhere to the Photian schism) and the Catholic Maronites are the most numerous, counting each about 300,000 adherents. These, with the Catholic or United Greeks (about 130,000) and the Latins (10,000), belong almost exclusively to Syria, while the Chaldeans or converted Nestorians (38,000) are nearly all Mesopotamians. Armenians, whether Catholics (30,000) or Schismatics (80,000), Syrians, who are converted Jacobites (40,000), Jacobite Monophysites (75,000) and Protestants (20,000) are better distributed over both countries. The once so powerful Nestorians are no longer represented in Mesopotamia.

The Maronites, who form a distinct nationality, are the most remarkable of the Christian groups. They represent the original Aramean inhabitants of the Lebanon district. Their proud boast of constant unity with Rome, while it shows the strength of their present attachment to the Catholic Church, is not accepted by most modern historians. They received their name and their faith from the monks of Bait Marun, a monastery founded on the banks of the Orontes, between Emesa and Apamea in the fifth century, probably by St. Maro, the patron of the nation. These monks, though surrounded by Monophysites, strenuously propagated the true faith among the Lebanon mountaineers, but unfortunately, in their loyalty to the Byzantine Emperors, fell with them into the heretical compromise of Monothelism, recognising two natures, indeed, but only one will and energy in Christ. Resisting the emperors on their return to orthodoxy, the Maronites from Melkites or royalists became Mardaites or

rebels towards the close of the seventh century. Authoritative writers of the two following centuries, like St. John Damascene, Theodore Abukara and Denis of Tell-Mahre, testify to their Monothelism, and William of Tyre tells us that 40,000 of them were converted from that heresy to Catholicism in 1182. The Maronites explain these and similar texts as either calumnious assertions of rival religious bodies or only referring to a part of their nation. Since the crusades, except for one or two partial and temporary lapses, they have remained faithful to Rome.

The Maronite mountaineers have a long tradition of autonomy. They maintained their independence against Byzantines and Arabs, and formed a close alliance with the Crusaders. On the departure of the latter, the Druses, who had previously settled in South Lebanon, gradually drove them to the north and assumed the position of a ruling class. But in the beginning of the last century they had so far recovered in numbers and influence that the great Emir Beshir became a nominal Christian to win their support. Subsequently in 1842 we find a Maronite ruling in North and a Druse in South Lebanon, Beyrouth-Damascus being the dividing line. Dissensions and wars between the two parties culminated in the massacres of 1859, in which Mohammedans and Druses combined to exterminate the Christians. Then came the intervention of the Powers in 1860. France favoured the Christians, England the Druses and Turks. The inevitable compromise left the guilty mostly unpunished and made Mount Lebanon politically autonomous but economically enslaved. Deprived of their seaports on the west and of their plain lands on the east, and condemned to pay a yearly tribute to the Ottoman Empire, the Maronites were forced to emigrate, and could count before the war an equal number in exile and at home. The Libanese, moreover, have been very dissatisfied in recent years with the undemocratic character of their political constitution, which may be summarised as follows.

The Governor, necessarily a Christian, is directly subject to the Sublime Porte, which appoints him after agreement with the six Protecting Powers. To him belongs all executive power, preservation of order, raising of tribute, appointment of officials and judges, supervision of the carrying out of judicial decisions. He is also President of the Administrative Council, which is entrusted with the imposition and distribution of taxes, the control of the finances and the discussion of such questions as he is pleased to submit to it. The Council consists of twelve members, of whom four must be Maronites, three Druses, two orthodox Greeks, one a Greek Catholic, one a Mohammedan and one a Metonali. These members are elected by the heads of the villages—themselves elected by the village communities subject to the ratification of the governor—and a third of them must be renewed or re-elected every two years. Here we have the sole democratic element; for the governor appoints the prefects of the seven Libanese prefectures, and may approve or reject the various sub-prefects proposed to him.

The Druses are Arabic invaders, who first appeared in South Lebanon in the eighth century, and, as they were gradually reinforced, pressed the Christian Arameans northwards. The North-Arabian tribe of Ma'an sought refuge among them from the common enemy, the Crusaders, in the twelfth century and gave rulers to all Lebanon for five centuries. Violent dissensions between the North and South Arabian factions finally resulted in the defeat of the latter at Ain-Dara in 1711 and the emigration of most of them to Mount Hauran, thenceforth called the Mountain of the Druses. The Mohammedan family, Shihab, now assumed the leadership and found its last and most celebrated chief in the great Emir Beshir, who reigned in Lebanon with interruptions from 1790 to 1840. Then came the conflicts with the Christians, the massacres and the intervention of the Powers, which deprived the Druses of the fruits of their victories and atrocities and

induced many of them to join their brethren in the Hauran. Accustomed for centuries to practical independence and the feudal manner of life of the European middle ages, they have been constantly in revolt against the Turks in recent years, especially objecting to conscription and arbitrary taxation. They are a strong, warlike mountain folk, easily inclined to violence and plunder, but on the whole with a high standard of morality, and of simple and courteous manners.

Their religion is a secret one, and counts initiated and uninitiated adherents, though the rising generation, in Lebanon at least, show no desire to join the inner circle. The most fundamental point of belief is that the One God appears on earth in human form—rather as a phantom than as incarnate—at the beginning of each of the seven world periods. The sixth appearance was in the person of Hakim, the mad Egyptian Caliph, who was secretly murdered at Cairo in 1021. He had his divinity preached from the pulpit by two orators, both of whom were mobbed by the Mohammedan populace and fled to South Lebanon, where the first, Ad-Darazi, gave the Druses their name and the second, Hamza, did the chief work of evangelization. The Druses expect Hakim—in whose death they do not believe—to reappear from his hiding-place at the beginning of the seventh world period, gather them, his chosen people, around him, and by their means subdue all nations and make them embrace the true faith. Then will come the end of the world with eternal rewards or punishments for each according to his merits.

The Nosairis—an autocthonous people with whom some Persian immigrants became assimilated—are almost the sole inhabitants of the ancient Mount Bargylus, which is cut off from Eastern and Southern Syria by the rivers Orontes (Nahr el-Asi) and Eleutherus (Nahr el-Kabir) respectively. They most probably became Christians in the fifth century, but got their present name and much of their present faith from Mohammed ibn Nosair, a Shiah

sectary, and his second successor, Husaibi, about the year 900. In the general disorder of the eleventh century the adherents of the new religion spread over the whole mountain region and probably effected an amalgamation of their doctrines with the ancient Christian beliefs. The mountaineers had little contact with the Crusaders, who did not penetrate their country but confined themselves to building fortresses on its borders. Many of these were subsequently seized by the neighbouring Ismailis, who availed themselves of internal dissensions to rule over the Nosairis until the latter succeeded in expelling them. After being almost forced to embrace Islam in the thirteenth century, they enjoyed a long period of independence, even under the nominal rule of the Turks, until the conquest of Syria early in the last century by the Egyptian troops of Mohammed Ali. These soon had to depart, but the ancient autonomy, thus restored to the Nosairis, was shortly replaced by a Turkish administration in 1858. Cruel persecution, forced conversions to Mohammedanism, and the destruction of a flourishing wine and tobacco trade have made the last period in the history of this kindly and industrious, if uncultured, people a very unhappy one.

Their religion is a curious mixture of Christian, Shiah, Manichean, Gnostic, Sabaean and other elements. They believe in a good and evil principle like the Manicheans. From the former emanate, as in the Gnostic theory, the sense or reality (the Word) and the dove or interpreter (the Paraclete). All three divine persons become incarnate in the seven different world periods. Ali, Mohammed and the latter's Persian companion, Salman, are the last incarnation; and simultaneously the Satanic opponent of the Godhead became incarnate in the first three Caliphs, who opposed and usurped Ali's rightful claims. Here we have the Shiah element. Sabaeanism appears in the identification of the three divine persons with the heavens, the sun and the moon. Each individual Nosairi thinks he was once a star, set in the

milky way, whence he fell and whither, if he is good, he hopes to return and shine for all eternity. If wicked, he will be punished by being transformed into a sheep, ox or other edible animal, while Mohammedans after death become asses, Christians hogs, and Jews monkeys. The Christian element appears in the principal liturgical ceremony, which is undoubtedly a survival or imitation of the Mass, as it comprehends vocal prayers, the use of candles and incense, the consecration and consumption of bread and wine, and the kiss of peace. Most of their feasts, too, coincide with the chief Christian solemnities in the East—Christmas, New Year, Epiphany, Easter, Pentecost, St. Catherine, St. Barbara, St. John Chrysostom and St. George.

The Yezidis dwell chiefly on Mount Sinjar, west of Mosul, also in the region to the north of Mosul, in middle Kurdistan and on Mount Simaan, west of Aleppo. Their ethnological character is uncertain, but probably most of them belong to the ancient Aramean stock. There is also considerable obscurity about the origin of their religion. They themselves claim to have received it in the first half of the tenth century from a certain Sheikh Adi, to whose grave they go in pilgrimage. Their name seems derived from the Persian word Yezd, God, but they prefer, through fear of the Mohammedans, to connect it with the Omayyad Caliph, Yezid. They are a brave, rude mountain folk, with a certain reputation for robbery, cruelty and treachery, vices imposed upon them by the Turks in their hard struggle against extermination. During the last century they have been constantly at variance with the latter, who made several vain attempts to force them to embrace Islam, render military service and pay tribute. Fellow-feeling has made them friendly to the Christians, but they have a reasonable and decided antipathy for their Bedouin and Kurdish neighbours.

The fundamental idea of the Yezidi religion is the old Persian and Manichean theory of a good and a bad prin-

ciple. Worship, however, is directed, not to the Invisible God, the Lord of Heaven, but to Satan, the Lord of the Earth. Hence the Yezidis are called devil-worshippers, a name which is scarcely justified, in its ordinary acceptation, as, according to them, the bad principle seems subordinated to and a manifestation of the good. This manifestation takes various forms in the seven different world periods, that assumed in the present or first period being a peacock. The object of their worship is therefore called Melek-Taus or Peacock-Angel, and the name Shaitan (Satan), or any word like it in sound, must never be pronounced under pain of death. The Yezidis consider themselves a chosen race, descended from Adam alone, not, like other sects, from Adam and Eve; believe in the resurrection of the dead and in the transmigration of souls, especially into beasts in punishment of sin; practise baptism and circumcision, but pay little attention to prayer or fasting.

It is impossible and indeed unnecessary to give here even a brief sketch of the history of Syria and Mesopotamia. Although both these countries have been at times subordinate or central parts of great empires, neither of them has any tradition of having formed for a considerable period a united and independent whole. It would, of course, be absurd to regard them as a kind of Arabia *Irredenta*.[1] The great Moslem empires never had their seat of government in Arabia.

More important, however, is the physical character of the land, for national problems have geographical and economic aspects. Two mountain ranges traversing Syria from north to south, two great rivers coursing down the Mesopotamian plain give both countries their distinctive features. The Damascene plain and the decomposed lava

[1] The proposal to make the Grand Sherif of Mecca sovereign of Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, recently exposed at the Peace Conference by his eldest son and representative, Faisal, would have the very grave disadvantage of obliging rich and industrious peoples, capable of immediate further development, to toil for the benefit ot a poor, primitive and lazy race.

beds of the Hauran in the south-east are the richest part of Syria. Next come the central plain-lands, which widen out considerably in the north-east before they change into steppe and desert. As Anti-Lebanon is barren and almost uninhabited, the southern and narrower part of these plains belongs naturally to Lebanon, which gives the land its fertilising streams and has absolute need of it for the support of its surplus population. The shortest and most natural line of communication between Damascus and the central plain-lands is along the east side of Anti-Lebanon, where a railway will undoubtedly be soon constructed. There is a fringe of good land along the sea-coast and the sloping western mountains have a very prosperous appearance, especially in the Lebanon, thanks to the industry of its inhabitants.

The rain-supply necessary for cultivation, which Syria gets from its mountains and the Mediterranean, is only forthcoming in that portion of Mesopotamia which lies north of Mosul. This means that Central Mesopotamia between the Mosul and Baghdad latitudes is condemned to remain almost entirely steppe land. The Arabian overflow of Bedouins, who dwell there at present with their flocks, are thus its natural inhabitants, but they must be prevented from encroaching on districts suitable for tillage and from taxing or plundering the peaceful cultivators of the soil. Southern Mesopotamia, on the other hand, is the richest land in the world, as it is composed of the alluvial matter deposited in the course of ages by the Tigris and Euphrates. And these two great rivers will supply the want of rain in the near future even better than they did in the distant past. In 1912 Sir William Willcox had already partially completed the first portion of vast irrigation works undertaken on behalf of the Turkish government. The project was to convey the surplus waters of the rivers at flood time into two great natural depressions, whence it might be led in the dry season to irrigate large tracts of country, instead of devastating

them in its mad rush to the sea. The works were to have cost about £30,000,000, with an annual outlay of nearly half a million for maintenance, and were expected to restore more than 14,000 square kilometres to cultivation. This area can be subsequently extended, but the supply of water is too limited to irrigate all Southern Mesopotamia. As the soil is much richer than that of Egypt,[1] an excellent quality of cotton will probably be one of its chief productions. Mesopotamia north of Mosul has much stone and steppe land and about 20,000 square kilometres of rich arable soil, chiefly in the part watered by the Belikh and Khabur, tributaries of the Euphrates.

We have now to consider the interests and aspirations of these peoples in view of the determination of their future destinies. The Libanese alone, so far as is known to us, have submitted their views to the Peace Conference, and their presentation of their case is so just, moderate and representative that we feel bound to give the document in full :—

"Seeing that Mount Lebanon has from all time, and notably since the Turkish conquest of Syria under Sultan Selim I., enjoyed an autonomous national government ; that this government comprised Lebanon and its geographical and economical frontiers, and included even under one of its princes, the famous Emir Fakr ed-din Ma'an, the cities of Acre, of Caifa and of Caeserea ;

Seeing that this autonomy has never been contested even by the Sublime Porte, as appears from instructions addressed by the said government to Shekib Effendi sent to Syria to restore order in 1845 ;

Seeing that the astuteness of the Ottoman plenipotentiary, Fouad Pasha, succeeded in exploiting the rivalries of the European states of that time so as to render illusory the right of autonomy recognised to Lebanon by robbing it of its ports of Beyrouth, Saida and Tripoli, with their dependencies, on the one hand, and of its plains of Lebanon, Baalbek and Anti-Lebanon, including the districts of Hasbaya and Rashaya, on the other, thus compelling

[1] The soil in Babylonia contains in 10,000 parts 12 of nitrogen, 24 of phosphate, 60 of potash, 1,500 of lime, as against 10, 20, 60 and 300 respectively in Egypt.

the Libanese to scatter over all the corners of the globe in such numbers that several states have had to enact against them special laws assimilating them at times to the negro, at times to the yellow races ;

Seeing that the Lebanon of the present day only produces cereals enough to supply its needs for two months, so that it suffices to shut it out from the harbours and plains above mentioned, to condemn the population to famine, as has actually happened during the present war, in the course of which half the inhabitants of the country perished miserably of hunger ;

Seeing that to-day peoples are admitted to present their claims before the greatest tribunal of justice that man has ever instituted, it has been decided to send delegates [Here follow their names], who will represent the autonomous government of Mount Lebanon at the Peace Conference, and will communicate and defend the following claims :—

(1) Extension of the territory of the actual Lebanon to its historical and geographical limits and in conformity with its economic needs, so that it may constitute a country capable of assuring the livelihood of its inhabitants, their well-being, and the needs of a regular government ;

(2) Confirmation of the autonomy of this country by the right to secure administration and justice for itself at the hands of its own nationals ;

(3) Institution for Mount Lebanon of a Chamber of Representatives elected by the people according to the system of proportional representation to secure the rights of minorities ; such Chamber to have the right to legislate and enjoy all the attributions of Parliaments in democratic countries ;

(4) The support of the French government for the realisation of the above-mentioned wishes, its collaboration with the national administration to spread public instruction, assure the progress of the country, efface the causes of disagreement and discord, assure the functioning of the different services on the principles of justice, liberty and equality, and finally the guarantee of our independence by said French government so as to protect it against every attack."

It is important to note that this document expresses the united aspirations of the Christians, Mohammedans

and Druses in the autonomous district of Lebanon, that it asks for French intervention, while safeguarding autonomy, and that, unlike the demands of some foreign Libanese committees in France and America, it manifests no desire to make the Lebanon part of one great united Syria.

For information as to the wishes of other peoples and districts we must go back to the pre-war period. There we find, as a result of the national spirit awakened by the Turkish revolution, three reform programmes, drawn up in the years 1912-13 with the view of expressing the aspirations of the national parties in the vilayets of Damascus, Beyrouth and Basra. All these programmes unite in professing loyalty to the Ottoman Empire, in demanding a large measure of local autonomy, in objecting to the removal of conscript soldiers from their native districts, and in insisting that the official tongue be Arabic, and that only native Arabs be appointed to the administrative posts. The Beyrouth document is the most able, thorough-going and representative of the three, while there is reason to think that the Basra adaptation of it only expresses the political views of one influential intriguer, Talib Bek, the "King of Basra," as he is or was called. The Beyrouth national party recognise in the Sublime Porte the right to appoint a few of the higher officials and to exercise supreme control over Foreign Affairs, Army, Legislation, Customs, Excise, Post and Telegraph. These concessions, made in the vain hope of securing an agreement, have little value in existing circumstances. But two important points, which do not appear in the Damascus and Basra programmes, deserve particular attention. The thirty elected members of the General Council, which should have supreme authority except in the matters above mentioned and to which all officials should be accountable, were to be half Mohammedans and half Christians. For fifteen years, and possibly for even a longer period, foreigners were to be chosen,

partly by the Central Authority, partly by the General Council, as advisers and inspectors in matters of justice and finance—the plague-spots of oriental administration.

No reform programmes appeared in the cities of Homs, Hama, Aleppo, Mosul and Baghdad, nor did the Beyrouth pronouncement, which awoke much enthusiasm in the coast cities and some also at Damascus, find there either echo or approbation. This lack of response and the significant omission of all reference to religious equality and foreign aid in the Damascus and Basra programmes show us exactly how matters lie. The more educated inhabitants of Western Syria, where Christians are in the majority, are tolerant of religious differences, seriously desirous of national progress and anxious for European assistance, while the less educated masses of the far richer provinces of Eastern Syria and Mesopotamia prefer to maintain a jealously guarded religious ascendancy and remain sunk in an ignorant and unprogressive decadence. To annex the former and grant the latter independence would be to commit a strange perversion of justice and to inflict a cruel blow on all the Christians, especially the large minority thus left in political servitude to the fanatical Moslems of Eastern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia. A temporary Protectorate, under the aegis of the League of Nations, which would secure liberty and equality for the Christians as well as education and prosperity for the Mohammedans themselves, would be in accordance with the best interests of all. Fortunately it is the last alternative that has been adopted by the Peace Conference.

A logical application of the principle of auto-decision would, of course, leave to these peoples themselves the choice of the nation or nations assigned to execute the mandate of the League and prepare them for complete self-government. There is no doubt as to how that choice would be made. The Christians would opt for France—indeed the Libanese have already done so—accustomed as they are

to centuries of French protection and the beneficent works of charity and zeal performed among them by French missionary priests and nuns. The anti-clericalism of the French government, which would naturally tend to alienate many, especially among the clergy, has only recently become an article of exportation to Syria. The Mohammedans, on the other hand, if forced to a choice, would just as decidedly choose England, and the Grand Sherif of Mecca has already suggested England as their helper at the Peace Conference. They are much impressed by the rapid growth of material prosperity under English administration in Egypt, and still more by the fact that native Mohammedans may there fill official positions and hold land with the same facility and on the same conditions as Europeans. The inferior status of their Algerian brethren in both these respects has prejudiced the Mohammedans against France, although that country, by building mosques and facilitating the pilgrimage, has done much more than England to satisfy their religious aspirations.

Presuming that the undoubted rights of large majorities should be respected in the choice of a protector, we reach the following interesting conclusion. The states preferred in the different districts would be no other than those to which these districts were assigned by the secret treaty, which France and England are determined as far as possible to uphold. The Nosairis, Yezidis and Druses would be easily satisfied with local autonomy in the mountain districts where they form distinct communities. It might be hoped that education would do the same good work for the Mohammedans of Mesopotamia and Eastern Syria as it has already done for many of their brethren in the west. The day would thus eventually come when the League of Nations, if it lasts so long, might receive these peoples from tutelage into membership as prosperous and independent states.

E. Power.

DR. JOHNSON AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BY HON. SIR CHARLES RUSSELL, BART.

AS a prelude to this paper it is necessary briefly to recall Johnson's religious history. He was, of course, a Christian ardent and convinced, and, moreover, a member and staunch upholder of the Protestant faith. He was a High Churchman of the old school; but, however strict and earnest, he was large and generous in his comprehension. His attitude towards the Godhead was, it seems to me, one rather of fear than of love. He records that his first religious impression was given to him when a tiny child in bed with his mother. His mother told him that the good went to heaven and the bad were sent down to hell, and he was sent by her to convey this newly acquired information to Thomas, one of the servants.

This crude lesson in religion made a great mark upon Johnson's singularly retentive memory and coloured, I believe, his whole religious life. So, in his prayers and other expressions of his belief, we find not so much the love of God as a vivid appreciation of the exacting justice of the Creator and a fear of death. He had an abnormal fear of death. He said to Boswell on the 16th September, 1777: "I never had a moment in which death was not terrible to me"; and in February, 1784, he wrote to his stepdaughter, Lucy Porter, just ten months before he died: "Death, my dear, is very dreadful."

Johnson defines "Religion" in his Dictionary as "Virtue, founded upon reverence of God, and expectation of future rewards and punishments."

Precocious child that he was, at an age when most of us only begin to conceive some glimmering of religious truths, Johnson had already reached a much later stage of development. "In my tenth year," he said, "I fell into an indifference about religion." This continued until his fourteenth year, when he says that he "became a loose talker against religion"; but in his nineteenth year, on going to Pembroke College, Oxford, he happened to pick up a book which had just been published in that year, 1728, entitled *Law's Serious Call to a Holy and Devout Life.* "Hoping," he states, "to find in it something to laugh at, I found Law an overmatch for me." Henceforth religion was the predominating object of his thoughts.

It is easy to understand Law's "Call" impressing any man and leading him onwards towards a spiritual life. In character it greatly resembles many of the writings of the more ardent of the Catholic Saints, but it is never gloomy; eternal punishment or the fear of hell is seldom alluded to from the beginning to the end of the book. It teaches that a cheerful and devout life is the happiest life, and it is full of the cheerful confidence towards God which is a great characteristic of Catholic books of devotion. I am surprised, therefore, that more of this spirit does not appear in Johnson's religious life, which continued gloomy and fearful almost to the end. I say almost to the end; for, when the shadow was finally upon him, he was able to recognise that what was coming was divine, an angel, though formidable and obscure. He passed with serene composure beyond mankind.

The above is an epitome of Johnson's religious life. It is obvious that he preferred the "Miserere" to the "Te Deum." His thoughts dwelt too long upon the forty days in the desert and not enough upon the feast at Cana in Galilee.

It is curious to note how continually throughout his life we find Johnson in touch with Catholics and Catholic

books. Wherever we find accurate records of his doings we find friendly intercourse with Catholics and their writings. His first literary effort, published in 1735, was a translation of a book written by a Jesuit Father, *The Travels of Father Lobo, S.J.* Later on, when he came to London, in 1738, he published two works : first, his poem, *London*, which immediately received its hall-mark from a Catholic, the Infallible Pope, Alexander of that ilk, then in undisputed possession of the poetic throne in England.[1] In the same year he wrote his *Life of Father Sarpi*, an Italian Catholic Ecclesiastic famous for his writings on the Council of Trent.

When Boswell appeared on the scene and met Johnson in Davis's shop in May of 1763, he found the Philosopher, then fifty-four years of age, with quite a long list of Catholic acquaintances. There was Thomas Hussey, the Catholic Bishop of Waterford, first President of Maynooth, and one of the few Catholic Fellows of the Royal Society. When Johnson met him he was Chaplain to the Spanish Chapel. There was Mrs. Strickland, the lady from Cumberland whom Johnson described as "a very high lady"; there was Dr. Nugent, father-in-law of Edmund Burke; Mrs. Edmund Burke, General Paoli, Joseph Baretti, whose life he helped to save by giving evidence as to his character when he was tried at the Old Bailey. Arthur Murphy, too, who introduced Johnson to the Thrales in 1764, was a Catholic, educated at St. Omer's. Then, later, we find a warm friendship established with Father Cowley, the Benedictine; with Father Wilkes of the Sorbonne, and Father Brewer. Finally, in his last illness, Johnson was cared for with marked devotion by another Catholic, Mr. Sastres, a friend of many years' standing, to whom he administered a very solemn warning on no account to change his religion

[1] In the next year, 1739, this same Alexander Pope, though I cannot find that he ever met Johnson, tried to persuade Dean Swift to obtain for him a Degree from Dublin University, which he thought would help Johnson in his career.

unless he was absolutely convinced that he was in error. To this gentleman, it will be remembered, he left a legacy in his will.

I feel convinced that he had many other Catholic friends, for this reason: in the very centre of the district covered by Johnson's many residences there were several Catholic chapels, rare objects in those days. The one in Golden Square still exists (the entrance being in Warwick Street, Regent Street), and the other was in Sardinia Street, Lincoln's Inn (lately moved into Kingsway).

The rarity at this date of Catholic chapels in London was due to the fact that the only exception to the laws prohibiting Catholic worship was that ambassadors were allowed to have Catholic chapels in connection with their embassies, and to these chapels the English Catholics flocked. Hence, to this very day Catholics in London worship in churches still bearing the names of "The Bavarian Chapel," "the Sardinian Chapel," "the Spanish Chapel," and "the French Chapel," although the Bavarians, the Sardinians, the Spanish and the French have little to do with them.

As Boswell says, Johnson "had an eager and unceasing curiosity to know human life in all its variety," and in passing and repassing these institutions, as Johnson must have done many thousands of times, this curiosity would never have remained satisfied until he had made the acquaintance of their interiors and discussed matters with their priests, who were gentlemen of education and learning, and generally Englishmen.[1]

We know that Johnson stated that all prison chaplains ought to be Catholic priests or Wesleyan ministers. "Sir," he said, "one of our regular clergy will probably not impress their mind sufficiently; they should be attended by a Methodist preacher or a popish priest."

[1] Johnson had no prejudice against entering Catholic churches. He attended Mass several times when he visited Paris with the Thrales in 1775. When he visited Scotland with Boswell in 1773 he firmly refused to enter a church.

It is unlikely that he would make such a statement unless he had heard them preach.

Another reason for believing that Johnson heard them preach is that in those days, although the ambassadors were allowed to have chapels, they were not allowed to have sermons in their chapels, and the various congregations of the faithful had to resort to the expedient of adjourning to the upper chamber of some adjoining tavern, and there, with the aid of pots of beer and long clay pipes, to hear the sermons of their pastors. The congregation of the Sardinian Chapel used to assemble in a publichouse, which still exists, called the "Ship," situated in the Turnstile, Lincoln's Inn Fields,[1] and I like to fancy, as I go through that passage, that Johnson probably found his way to the upper chamber and partook of the beer, even if he did not smoke the clay pipe, with the Catholic congregation there assembled. He certainly must have been aware of this Catholic practice, for nobody knew the tavern life of London better than he.

Johnson was a great habitué, too, of the Temple. It is true that no Catholic was admitted to the English Bar until 1791,[2] and the first Catholic K.C. was made only in 1831. Nevertheless, there existed a branch of the Law (now extinct), members of which were known as "Special Pleaders"; they were gentlemen who drew the written pleadings but never appeared in Court. Catholics, shut out from the Bar, in considerable numbers became Special Pleaders. In Lincoln's Inn, too, Catholics became Conveyancers, although not members of the Bar; and it is more than likely that in this way Johnson made other Catholic friends.

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[1] The celebrated preacher, Father James Archer (1740-1823), who was converted by Bishop Challoner's preaching and took Holy Orders, was originally a "pot boy" at the "Ship."

[2] Charles Butler, nephew of Alban Butler, was the first Catholic barrister (1791), and he was also the first Catholic K.C. (1831). The first Catholic judge was Sir William Shee, in 1863. The first Catholic Attorney-General was Sir Charles Russell, in 1886. He was also the first Catholic Lord Chief Justice of England (1894).

We know also, from his own statements to Boswell, that Johnson visited at least one Catholic convent of English nuns, because he refers to his discussion with the Lady Abbess :—

> I said to the Lady Abbess of a Convent, "Madam, you are here, not for the love of virtue, but for the fear of vice." She said she should remember this as long as she lived. I thought it hard to give her this view of her situation, when she could not help it.

Boswell adds :—

> I wondered at the whole of what he now said, because both in his *Rambler* and *Idler* he treats religious austerities with much solemnity of respect.

On the occasion of his visiting Paris with the Thrales in 1775, we know that Johnson visited several Monasteries, and actually resided for a brief time in a monk's cell in a Benedictine Monastery, which he left with some emotion, for he records : "I parted very tenderly from the Prior and Father Wilkes" ; and he received from the Abbot, to whom he had endeared himself, the promise that his cell would always be ready for him.

Finally, to complete a list of Johnson's Catholic (or ex-Catholic) friends, we must mention that fraudulent old rascal Psalmanasser, who was originally a Catholic, and whom Johnson regarded almost as a saint.

I have dwelt at some length upon these various friendships and acquaintances because they account for one outstanding fact about Johnson's attitude towards the Catholic Church which differentiates Johnson from most of her critics, ancient or modern, namely, that he took the trouble thoroughly to understand what he was talking about. He may have differed from Catholics, but he, at any rate, understood in what he differed. He honestly tried to understand the Catholic point of view, and he never attempted to misrepresent Catholic teaching. His many Catholic friends gave him the opportunity of acquiring accurate information.

But what, in fact, were Johnson's views on the Catholic Articles of Faith and Catholic practices? He appears, at different times, to have discussed all the most important points of Catholic doctrine with Boswell: the Real Presence, the Doctrine of Purgatory, Prayers for the Dead, Invocation of the Saints, Confession and Absolution. On each point he shows accurate knowledge, and he invariably admits the reasonableness of the Catholic point of view, even if he is not prepared to agree with it.

It may perhaps be worth while following the dates and order in which these matters arise in Boswell's "Life."

Sorrow and loss drove Johnson, like many others, to consider the lawfulness of prayers for the dead and the doctrine of purgatory. He was only forty-two years of age when he lost his wife in 1751, his beloved "Tettie," and for the remaining thirty-three years of his life he never ceased to pray for the repose of her soul and that she might be finally received into eternal happiness, at first prefacing his prayers with the proviso, "so far as it may be lawful in me." In course of time mention of this proviso disappears. He prayed in like manner for his father, continuing such prayers for some fifty years after his father's death.

Boswell only met Johnson in May, 1763, and by August of the same year their friendship had so quickly ripened that Johnson journeyed with Boswell down to Harwich to see him start upon his famous Continental tour. On the stage coach Johnson astonished the passengers by his views on the Spanish Inquisition. Boswell records the event thus:—

> In the afternoon the gentlewoman talked violently against the Roman Catholics and of the horrors of the Inquisition. To the utter astonishment of all the passengers but myself, who knew that he could talk upon any side of a question, he defended the Inquisition, and maintained that "false doctrine should be checked on its first appearance; that the civil power should unite with the Church in punishing those who dare to attack the established religion, and that such only were punished by the Inquisition."

Boswell assumed that Johnson was doing so because he could talk upon any side. I think Boswell was wrong. I believe it is clear, from Johnson's discussions on the subject of "Liberty," that the old philosopher would have been a stern persecutor of error and a firm disciple of Torquemada had he had the chance. He more than once declared, "The State has the right to regulate the religion of the people"; and I regret to say I believe he would have boiled the oil and polished up the thumbscrew and applied his test of martyrdom with regret but determination.

Boswell received his next shock in 1772, when he and Johnson determined to make the tour of the Hebrides. In the course of their preparations he asked Johnson whether there was any objection to his taking a Catholic servant with him on the projected tour, and was curtly told by Johnson: "Sir, if he has no objection, you can have none."

Soon after there was a general questioning by Boswell as to Johnson's views on Catholicity. His cross-examination of Johnson was complete and persevering:—

BOSWELL: "What, sir, do you think of Purgatory?"

JOHNSON: "I consider it is a very harmless doctrine. They are of opinion that the generality of mankind are neither so obstinately wicked as to deserve everlasting punishment, nor so good as to merit being admitted into the society of blessed spirits, and, therefore, that God is graciously pleased to allow a middle state. Sir, there is nothing unreasonable in this."

BOSWELL: "But they, sir, offer Masses for the dead."

JOHNSON: "Sir, if it be once established that there are souls in Purgatory, it is as proper to pray for them as for our brethren of mankind who are yet in this life."

Johnson might also have referred Boswell to certain passages in Scripture in which we are told it is "a holy and wholesome thought to pray for the dead that they may be loosed from sin."

Boswell, with his usual perseverance, was not going to let matters rest, for he pushed on :—

"The idolatry of the Mass, sir ?"

Whereupon Johnson thundered at him :—

"There is no idolatry in the Mass. They believe God to be there, and they adore Him."

"The worship of the Saints," cried Boswell.

JOHNSON : "They do not worship the Saints ; they invoke the Saints ; they ask their prayers."

Boswell had one more shot left, and he fired it, uttering the single word, "Confession !"

JOHNSON : "I do not know but that it is a good thing" ;

and he further pointed out that Absolution was entirely conditional on repentance and penance.

Throughout the trip there were many discussions on religious matters, and sometimes on Catholic Doctrine. On the 20th August, 1773, whilst in the post chaise on the road from Dundee, even the subject of Transubstantiation was discussed. "On that awful subject," as Boswell calls it, he records Johnson's opinion that the Catholics were in error in their construction of the Scriptures. But Johnson added, "Had God never spoken figuratively, we might hold that He spoke literally."

Johnson's attitude towards converts is interesting. He held the theory that every man was justified in adhering strictly to the religion in which he was born, or, as he put it, "the religion in which Providence had placed him." If he did so he was "safe," and a man was not justified in abandoning such religion unless he was overwhelmed with the conviction that he was in error. He doubted the sincerity of conversions which entailed the giving up of belief, but he believed apparently in the sincerity of conversions in which belief was increased. Boswell records his words on the matter as follows :—

A man who is converted from Protestantism to Popery may be sincere : he parts with nothing : he is only superadding to

what he already had. But a convert from Popery to Protestantism gives up so much of what he has held sacred as anything that he retains: there is so much *laceration of mind* in such a conversion, that it can hardly be sincere and lasting.

Holding these views, we find him in his *Life of Dryden* treating the poet's somewhat suspect and timely conversion to Catholicism on the occasion of the accession of James II. with marked toleration :—

> Soon after the accession of King James and the design of reconciling the nation to the Church of Rome became apparent, and the religion of the Court gave the only efficacious title to its favours, Dryden declared himself a convert to Popery. This at any other time might have passed with little censure. . . . That conversion will always be suspected that apparently concurs with interest. He that never finds his error till it hinders his progress towards wealth or honour will not be thought to love truth only for herself. Yet it may easily happen that information may come at a commodious time, and as truth and interest are not by any fatal necessity at variance, that one may by accident introduce the other. When opinions are struggling into popularity, the arguments by which they are opposed or defended become more known. . . . It is natural to suppose that a comprehensive is likewise an elevated soul, and that whoever is wise is also honest. . . . but enquiries into the heart are not for man, who must now leave Dryden to his Judge.

Boswell records that in 1784 he was present when Mrs. Kennicot informed him of the conversion of the Rev. Mr. Chamberlayne, and his forfeiting his living to join the Church of Rome, upon which Johnson fervently exclaimed, "God bless him!" On the other hand, when Hannah More informed him that his friend Miss Jane Harry had become a Quakeress he denounced the lady :—

> "Madam, she is an odious wench. She could not have had any proper conviction that it was her duty to change her religion, which is the most important of all subjects, and should be studied with all care, and with all the helps we can get. She knew no more of the Church which she left, and that which she embraced, than she did of the difference between the Copernican and Ptolemaick systems."

Mrs. Knowles: "She had the New Testament before her."

Johnson: "Madam, she could not understand the New Testament, the most difficult book in the world, for which the study of a life is required."

Mrs. Knowles: "It is clear as to essentials."

Johnson: "But not as to controversial points. The heathens are easily converted, because they had nothing to give up; but we ought not, without very strong conviction indeed, to desert the religion in which we have been educated. That is the religion given you, the religion in which it may be said Providence has placed you. If you live conscientiously in that religion, you may be safe. But error is dangerous indeed if you err when you choose a religion for yourself."

Mrs. Knowles: "Must we then go by implicit faith?"

Johnson: "Why, madam, the greatest part of our knowledge is implicit faith; and as to religion, have we heard all that a disciple of Confucius, all that a Mahometan, can say for himself?" He then rose into passion, and attacked the young proselyte in the severest terms of reproach, so that both ladies seemed to be much shocked.

In the same spirit was his advice to Francisco Sastres, to whom he wrote as follows:—

There is no one who has shewn me more attention than you have done. It is now right you should claim some from me. . . . Let me exhort you always to think of my situation, which must one day be yours. Always remember life is short and that eternity never ends. I say nothing of your religion, for if you conscientiously keep to it I have little doubt that you may be safe. If you read the controversy, I think we have right on our side; but if you do not read it, be not persuaded from any worldly consideration to alter the religion in which you are educated. Change not but from conviction of reason.

It is somewhat difficult to explain his welcoming Father Compton, the Catholic priest who joined the Church of England. Johnson charitably gave him shelter and money, and found him employment under the Bishop of London. Possibly Johnson was disarmed by Father Compton's assurance that he owed his conversion to the

Church of England to reading Johnson's Paper 110 of the *Rambler* on the subject of Repentance. I have read the paper in question, and I must say I cannot see anything in it which could disturb anybody's convictions, Catholic or Protestant.

I think there can be no doubt Dr. Johnson was at some time in his life very nearly becoming a convert himself and joining the Catholic Church. "I would be a papist if I could; I have fear enough, but an obstinate rationality prevents me. I shall never be a papist except at the near approach of death." Indeed his sympathy with the doctrines and teaching of the Catholic Church were such that Bennett Langton's father died under the impression that he was in fact a member of the Catholic Church.

On some questions connected with Catholic practice there is no doubt that Dr. Johnson at different times held different opinions. At one time he is strongly in favour of Monasteries, and at another he condemns them. They always appear, however, to have an attraction for him. When Baretti pressed him to visit Italy he replied that "the Monasteries would interest him more than the Palaces."

Boswell puts forward the contention that, because Johnson sometimes appeared to support the Catholic Church and at other times to oppose it, it was clear he was only "talking for victory" and not expressing his convictions; but it is to be remarked that as a rule when Johnson spoke against the Catholic Church it was generally mere denunciation in which he gave no reasons. When he spoke in its favour he always backed up his assertions with cogent argument. Thus he said :—

"In everything they differ from us they are wrong."
"Purgatory is made a lucrative imposition."
"Giving the Sacrament in one kind is criminal."
"Invocation of the Saints is will worship and presumption."

On other occasions Johnson expressed the view that

there was no important difference between the teachings of the various Christian bodies.

In matters of morality Johnson was a stern upholder of virtue. No lines in his writings call for expurgation, and in his conversation he was equally uncompromising. Boswell records a conversation at Oxford in June of 1784, when he had the resolution to ask Johnson whether he thought the roughness of his manner had been an advantage or not, and if he would not have done more good if he had been more gentle.

JOHNSON: "No, sir; I have done more good as I am. Obscenity and impiety have always been repressed in my company."

BOSWELL: "Sir, that is more than can be said of every Bishop."

Men like Johnson are the stay of religion and faith and the champions of morality in their time, and whatever particular shade may be assigned to Samuel Johnson's beliefs, he was, beyond controversy, a glorious exponent of religion, as defined by the Apostle St. James—"Religion clean and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and the widows in their tribulation and to keep oneself unspotted from the world."

Johnson welcomed and sheltered the blind and sick, he provided for the orphan, he lifted the fallen, he held out his hand even to the criminal and the imprisoned. His home was a veritable house of charity; and after a long life of seventy-three years' battling in the world his huge heart remained as unsullied as a child's.

CHARLES RUSSELL.

GENERAL FAYOLLE.[1]

BY CHARLES BAUSSAN.

IN the month of May, 1914, Brigadier-General Fayolle retired from the army at the age of sixty-two. "Now I am going to look on at life," he said. He had a house and garden at Clermont; there he tended his roses, read St. Paul, and matured his great plan for a visit to the countries of the Levant. He was desirous, in a spirit of piety and of historical curiosity, to pick up and follow in those lands the trail of the great apostle's journeyings.

But other roads awaited his feet. On the first day of the war he was recalled to active service, and given command first of a brigade, then of the 70th Reserve Division.

His training and his ability were sufficient for any post. After a distinguished course at the Ecole Polytechnique, he had been gazetted to the artillery. From 1875 to 1889 he served as a regimental officer, and was in the Tunis campaign. In November, 1889, he entered the Ecole de Guerre, where Maillard and Bonnal were among his masters. Later he became a professor there, with Foch, Maud'huy and Pétain; his first post, in 1897, was that of associate professor of the artillery course; four years later he became ordinary professor of the subject. He was not afraid of new ideas. He insisted above all on the importance of concentrated fire, and on its stopping power against an infantry advance. In 1913 he published a book which embodied the essence of his teaching: *Concentration des feux et concentration des moyens.*

[1][Articles on Marshals Foch and Pétain and on Generals de Castelnau, Pau and Gouraud have appeared in previous issues.—Editor.]

As he was frank and fearless of speech, and never courted the favour of those in power for the moment, his promotion was slow; he was fifty-five when he was made Colonel in 1907. The delay troubled him little; the honour of commanding a regiment, he said, was cheaply purchased by the service of a lifetime. In 1910 he was made Brigadier-General.

In 1913 he was given charge of an important manœuvre in the country between the Ourcq and the Marne, so soon to be part of the battlefield of the Marne. The operations were specially interesting as the artillery fired live shell. One evening while they were going on Fayolle called on the curé of Germigny, where he had his headquarters. "It is a pity that you have not seen us at work, Monsieur le Curé," he said; "you would have seen the destructive power of our 75's. Besides, I had occasion to point out to my officers how admirably your countryside is adapted to be the scene of a great battle." It would almost seem that he had an intuition of the events of the following year.

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The 70th Reserve Division took part in the battles of Lorraine under Castelnau. In the retreat from Morhange (after the "battle of Metz") it covered the left of the 20th Corps. At one moment a gap opened between the 70th and the 39th Divisions. To prevent the enemy from breaking through, Fayolle took the daring step of bringing his guns, himself in the midst of them, in front of his infantry. Their concentrated fire, a weapon he understood so well how to wield, checked the German onrush.

When the retreat ended in front of Nancy, his division took part in the heroic defence of the Grand-Couronné. On August 24th, to the north-west of the forest of Parroy, one of his brigades was driven back on Courbessaux. He kept his batteries in position, and the shaken battalions were able to re-form under their protection. The following

day the 20th Division, on his immediate right, gave ground, and the enemy surged into the gap. Fayolle's artillery came to the rescue again. Leaving a portion to continue its frontal fire, he wheeled all the rest of his guns to the right, and mowed down the Germans as their columns crossed a height at a range of some 2,500 yards. Their advance was stopped and the battle gained. At the end of the fierce and successful defence of Nancy, when the 70th Reserve Division was retiring to rest at Varangeville, General de Castelnau congratulated it in an order of the day (September 14, 1914) on having rivalled the achievements of the best of the active Divisions.

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The 70th Division took part in the "Race to the Sea" which followed after the battles of the Marne and the Aisne. It arrived north of Arras on October 1st, and took position on the Vimy ridge, commanding the plain of Lens. Here it was attacked by a German corps coming from Douai. The French position was turned by the capture of Givenchy, and the famous ridge, the scene of so many bloody encounters in the ensuing years, had to be abandoned to the enemy. On the 5th, with a reinforcement of one brigade, Fayolle attacked the ridge again, but was forced back on the heights of Villers-le-bois and Mont St. Eloi, from which all the enemy's efforts failed to dislodge him. The next day the 21st Corps arrived; by the skill and vigour of his six days' defence against an enemy twice his numerical strength, Fayolle had saved Arras. He was made Commander of the Legion of Honour on October 11th, "pour sa belle attitude au feu et les brillantes qualités de commandement qu'il a déployées pendant la période du 1er au 6 octobre."

In the following spring, Fayolle's Division, as part of Pétain's 33rd Corps, took part in the Artois offensive which commenced on May 9th. On the 13th, Fayolle was promoted on the battlefield to the rank of General of Division. He took Carency and Ablain-Saint-Nazaire,

reputed impregnable. His method is easily described: after an intense artillery preparation, he would sweep round his objective and cut it off. Each day's objective was clearly defined beforehand, and all the means of action at his disposal were concentrated on it; never did the day's expected success elude him. If this offensive did not produce larger results, the relative failure lay neither at Pétain's nor at Fayolle's door; it was due simply to the lack of material resources.

In June Fayolle took over the command of the 33rd Corps from Pétain, who had been given command of an army. The 33rd Corps had been formed during the war; its gallant deeds in Artois, in which its new commander had had so large a share, had already won it a high reputation. In September, 1915, it won fresh laurels under Fayolle in the fighting at Souchez and on the Vimy lines.

On February 26th, 1916, Fayolle was put at the head of the 6th Army. Four months later, on July 1st, the battle of the Somme began, by a combined Anglo-French attack on a front of 40 kilometres. Fayolle knew intimately the plateau between the Somme and the Avre, broken by occasional hills, which was to be the battle-ground of his troops. He had worked hard and with meticulous care to have everything ready for the work—railways, roads, depots, ambulances, shelters, trenches and so forth.

For five days the artillery pounded the enemy before the first infantry attack. From the first the French success was marvellous in its method and regularity. After each gain of ground the guns were brought up rapidly, to protect the consolidation of the new position and to prepare for a fresh advance. [1]

[1] It may not be out of place to quote here the testimony of an eyewitness of the battle. "The French are lovely fighters," he said quaintly: "an attack does not cost them half as many men as it does us (the British). Their artillery will clear the ground about a village, and then they will sweep round, envelope and take it without having dropped a single shell in the village itself. We never succeed in taking a village until our guns have pounded it into rubble." [Translator's note].

The battle of the Somme lasted until November. The plains of Artois and Flanders were reached by the Allies; the Germans, to save their threatened front, were obliged to weaken their armies on the Meuse, and Verdun was disengaged. The results of the battle became more evident in March, 1917, when the Germans found themselves obliged to withdraw to the Hindenburg line. The achievements of Fayolle's three corps are summarised in an order of the day of Marshal Joffre (September 29, 1916): Verdun relieved, twenty-five villages retaken, 35,000 prisoners, 150 guns, the enemy's successive lines carried to a depth of ten kilometres. On October 8th Fayolle was made Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour; the official announcement said:

> Joignant à la ténacité dans l'effort une compréhension exacte des nécessités de la guerre actuelle, a obtenu sur l'ennemi de remarquables succès, par la mise en oeuvre méthodique d'une supériorité technique en plein développement.

In December, 1916, he was given command of the 1st Army. In the following April this army was behind the line of the Aisne, awaiting its turn to attack. The order never came: the French offensive on the Aisne was stopped by authorities, and for reasons, which were anything but military.

In May, 1917, he again succeeded Pétain, this time in the command of the group of armies of the centre. He continued the direction of the attack on the Moronvillers *massif*, begun under Pétain on April 17. This operation, carried out by the 4th Army under the immediate command of Anthoine and later of Gouraud, was completely successful; the whole of the line of hills had fallen to the French by May 20, with 6,000 prisoners.

In December of the same year he was in Italy, commanding the French troops who with the British under Plumer had been sent to the help of the sorely pressed Italians. The position was perilous; the Austrians, from

the Alpine slopes, threatened to take the whole Venetian plain in flank. They had occupied Monte Tomba, the key of the plain, and it was vital to drive them from it. Fayolle bombarded it for a whole day and then launched his attack. In half an hour Monte Tomba was taken, with 1,500 prisoners and seven guns.

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When the Germans struck their great blow between the Oise and the Somme, on March 21, 1918, Fayolle was at Paris. Humbert arrived in haste on the scene of battle that very evening. On the 23rd Fayolle took command of the French forces between Péronne and Barisis. The Germans were across the Crozat canal; every day's delay was of supreme importance, for French reinforcements were on their way. Pellé with his 5th Corps checked the enemy for a moment before Noyon; Humbert blocked the road to Paris; the battle swept westward towards Montdidier and Amiens. On the 25th the Germans crossed the Somme; but the 1st French Army under Débeney had arrived from Lorraine and took position near Montdidier, covering Beauvais and Clermont, while Humbert's men stood fast and unshakeable, guarding (as the order of the day for March 25 put it) "the heart of France."

Fayolle had to look to right and to left, to the defence of Paris and the defence of Amiens, co-ordinating the efforts of the two armies. "I had to squint," he said later; but the "squint" did not prevent him from seeing everything and seeing it aright. Under his direction, Débeney made his junction with the British armies and Humbert closed the valley of the Oise. Twelve days after his arrival, Fayolle saw the breach closed and Paris and Amiens both safe. He had carried out this splendid operation in the cool and methodical fashion characteristic of him. He was like a doctor watching his patient's pulse and noting the improvement from day to day. "One day we were 50," he said to President Poincaré soon after, "the next

day we were 60, then 70—we are coming on—and now we are 100."

After the loss of the Chemin des Dames and the line of the Aisne, in May, Fayolle was in time to establish a new defensive front to the east of the forest of Villers-Coterets, on the flank of the enemy's advance. The holding of Villers-Cotterets, and of the Montagne de Reims on the enemy's other flank, made possible the great strokes that later decided the whole war. On June 10th the Germans made an attempt to reduce the bastion of Compiègne and Villers-Cotterets; they were firmly held by Fayolle's lieutenant, Mangin.

On the night of July 14-15 the Germans made what was to be the decisive assault, east and west of Reims. The left wing of the attack was shattered by Gouraud in front of Chalons; to the west, eleven enemy divisions (besides the reserves) were disposed in échelon from the Aisne to the Marne. The French seemed to be retreating before them; such at least was the word given by the *Drachen* (observation balloons). On July 18th, the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* announced that all danger of a counter-offensive by Foch had passed; the French had neither the men, the energy, nor the spirit needed for such a stroke.

On the morning of the 18th the German soldiers were told off in squads for farm work, to reap the harvests of France. To the west, the great oaks of the French forest darkened the horizon and sheltered the French troops from observation; squadrons and battalions and guns and tanks lay hidden there, waiting the word to strike; the armies of Mangin and Degoutte, under Fayolle's command. At half-past four in the morning, without any preliminary bombardment, but covered by a terrific rolling fire and headed by innumerable tanks, Mangin's men leaped from the forest and swept across the cornfields. Two German regimental staffs, with their colonels, were taken in bed; whole garrisons were taken in their

cantonments. Further south Degoutte attacked in his turn. The whole German right was hustled back in disorder; day after day fresh reinforcements failed to stay the French; the Marne was abandoned, the Crise, the Vesle; Soissons was retaken on August 2nd, and the "pocket" formed by the enemy's success in May was wiped out.

Then Fayolle took other German salients in turn, methodically. With Débeney, Mangin, and the British, he drove in the salient of Amiens; with Humbert and the British he dealt with that of Montdidier.

From that moment Foch's great broom never ceased, now here and now there, to sweep the enemy's forces towards the frontier. Driven from the sea on his right, the line of the Meuse turned on his left, all his strong places either forced or outflanked successively, burdened by the masses of his heavy artillery and the immensity of his stores, with the forest of the Ardennes blocking his rear, the invader was being steadily driven back to a gigantic disaster. Foch's strategy was winning, had won.

"The German army is at your mercy," said the German plenipotentiaries to Foch: "our resources and our munitions are exhausted. We cannot continue the struggle."

In this colossal four months' battle, the greatest in the world's history, Fayolle was one of the chief artisans of victory. He had four armies under him from July 18th, the 1st, the 3rd, the 6th and the 10th. With one or other or all together he had freed Amiens, taken Moreuil, Montdidier, Roye, St. Quentin (this last after piercing the Hindenburg line), Noyon, Tergnier, Fort Vandeuil, Carlepont, the Chemin des Dames, and Laon. He had taken from the Germans some 85,000 prisoners, 1,414 guns, 9,655 machine guns.

General Fayolle presided over the occupation of Mainz; he made his state entry there on December 15. The mayor and the governor of the town came to assure

him of their readiness to fulfil the obligations laid on them. His reply indicated clearly the character of the French occupation. It was as follows :—

I thank you, gentlemen, for your frank and honourable statement. And now let me speak my whole mind to you.

The war imposed on France by Germany has been at once the most unjust and the cruellest that humanity has known. It has been conducted with a refinement of barbarity that has shocked mankind. The criminal violation of Belgian neutrality made the invasion of our country possible. The northern provinces of France have been systematically laid waste, the villages levelled to the ground, and the towns destroyed by bombardment and incendiarism. Those not on the front were pillaged, and all they contained, clothing, furniture, artistic treasures, factory equipment, was taken in trainloads to Germany.

To-day, in France and Belgium, thousands of families are homeless and destitute. The soil has been turned into a desert. Such is the situation for which you are and remain responsible. You have made terrorism a system of warfare. The result has only been to increase our resolution by exasperating it, and so to hasten our victory.

Since July 15, the German armies have been thrust back on every side, and have suffered an uninterrupted series of defeats in which the allied armies have taken several hundreds of thousands of prisoners and thousands of guns. In the end, face to face with irreparable disaster, you have been obliged to sue for mercy.

We have come to the banks of the Rhine. You fear just reprisals ; but France is faithful to her glorious traditions, and our armies have crossed your territory without doing injury to anyone. We do not know the *Schadenfreude*, the joy of evildoing.

You have nothing to fear for your persons or your goods, but on one absolute condition : that you submit, frankly and fully, to the French military authority, whose representative in Mainz will be General Mangin, commander of the 10th Army.

Accept honourably and in your own interest the situation resulting from Germany's faults and mistakes and from her defeat ; and reckon yourselves fortunate that your enemy is a nation which while not forgetting the lot that awaited her had she been defeated by you, is none the less faithful to the principles of justice which she has always defended.

The general scheme of the operations which led to victory was the work of Foch ; in directing their execution

Pétain was his collaborator. Between them and the generals, Mangin, Degoutte, Débeney and the others who carried out the details of the plan, Fayolle was the leader who co-ordinated all the efforts between the Somme and Reims, whose eye and brain had to be ever alert to fit the foreseen or unforeseen events of each day into the framework of the general plan; who was constantly called upon, and never in vain, for rapid and firm decisions on which depended, over a vast portion of the battle-ground, the harmonious execution of the main design. He showed himself a great leader.

* * * * * *

He is a great leader, and a simple, plain, kindly man: *le père Fayolle* his soldiers call him, and with reason.

He is tall; his head suggests quiet strength; his face, somewhat broad, with a large forehead and a massive brow, the mouth concealed by a heavy grey moustache, has an air of grave good humour. His blue eyes have the clearness and the direct gaze of a young girl's. His eyes and his smile and the clear ring of his voice make him young, for all his grey hairs.

His word carries weight; for he is absolutely sincere, and what he says he has first thought out. "We are sure of success," he told his men at the beginning of the battle of the Somme, in his order of the day for July 4, 1916; and success came. When at a later date he announced: "This time we have the Boche on the run; he will not come back," he was believed, and the event justified him.

He was born on May 14, 1852, at Saint Geneys, in the mountains of Auvergne, some twelve miles from Le Puy. His father's family came from Velay and his mother's from the Cévennes, so that by birth and ancestry he belongs to the very heart of old-time Gaul, to the race of Vercingetorix. His warm and constant affection for his birthplace and for the associations of his boyhood comes out in his reply to the signed address of condolence sent him in 1915,

on the occasion of the death of his mother, by the people of Saint Geneys :—

> I read with emotion the names at the foot, recalling so many kind souls whom in my childhood I used to meet on the roads and in the fields about Peyramont. So many, alas, of the best of our young men have paid with their lives the price of victory ! When we return, we will inscribe their glorious names on the walls of the church and of the town hall.

His father was a lace manufacturer. Two of his uncles were priests, curés of neighbouring parishes. His early life was passed in an atmosphere of Christian faith and piety, of hard work and quiet common sense. He went to school to the Petit Séminaire at Le Puy, and afterwards to the Jesuits at the Rue des Postes in Paris, to prepare for the Ecole Polytechnique. He studied hard ; besides being a past master of the science of gunnery, he is an excellent Latinist. He is not only a fervent Catholic, privately and publicly, but his piety is nourished by a profound knowledge of his religion.

With all his knowledge, his penetrating intelligence, his high principles, his strength of will, his gift of command, there is nothing complicated about him. He is full of matter-of-fact common sense.

And now that he has driven the Germans from the soil of France, he will be able to see to his roses again ; before long he will be able to realise his great ambition, to read St. Paul's epistles on the roads of Syria.

CHARLES BAUSSAN.

CHRONICLE.

I.—The Fate of the Irish Flag at Ypres.

BY HENRY V. GILL, S.J., D.S.O., M.C.

When on Ramillies' bloody field,
The baffled French were forced to yield,
The victor Saxon backward reeled
Before the charge of Clare's Dragoons.
The Flags we captured in that fray
Look lone in Ypres' choir, they say,
We'll win them company to-day,
Or bravely die like Clare's Dragoons.
—*Davis.*

In the Cloisters of Ypres a banner is swaying,
And by it a pale weeping maiden is praying;
That flag's the sole trophy of Ramillies' fray;
This nun is poor Eily, the Flower of Finae.
—*Davis.*

THE object of this paper is to put on record the efforts made by the writer to find and if possible save from destruction the flag which the Irish Brigade had deposited at the Convent of *Les Dames Irlandaises* of Ypres. It is hoped that this account will clear up certain misunderstandings which still exist as to its fate. There seems to be no doubt that the precious relic has shared in the destruction of the town and the convent. It will be best to put this statement in the form of a personal narrative.

I arrived in France in November, 1914, and joined the 2nd Royal Irish Rifles, to which I had been attached as Catholic chaplain at the beginning of December.

During the heavy bombardment which had taken place about this time enormous damage had been done to the town of Ypres. Many of the inhabitants had gone away, and many dwelling places and public buildings had been destroyed. But the town was far from being altogether deserted. During the lull which succeeded the onslaught in October and November many of those who had fled returned to their homes, some of the shops were re-opened, and a certain amount of trade was done with the French troops in the neighbourhood.

In January, 1915, an opportunity presented itself which enabled me to make my first visit to Ypres. It was a beautiful day; overhead hardly a cloud was to be seen in the sky, save the white puffs of smoke from shrapnel shells exploding around aircraft. The condition of the roads was absolutely unthinkable. Seated in the front seat of a motor ambulance, one could not but be amused at the good-natured way in which soldiers and civilians alike fled to escape the splash of the wheels as the car floundered through the deep ruts—an experience with which I had been taught to sympathise.

My first care on arriving at Ypres was to make my way to the Irish Convent, in order that I might at least get sight of this building around which so many historic memories are grouped. The Community had already left the Abbey, which had suffered from shell fire. A great shell had badly damaged the Chapel. I need not dwell on the condition of the once spotlessly clean convent where some French soldiers were billeted. There is little difference between the general methods of the soldiers of one nation and of another; none of them are very tender in their treatment of the houses in which they are quartered. An old man still inhabited the kitchen and acted as caretaker. He shook his hands in despair when he looked round him! The idea at the back of every soldier's head when in billets in the war zone is that, as the place will almost certainly be burnt and destroyed

before long, he may as well make himself as much at home as possible while he is in the land of the living. In this instance the calculations of the soldiers were only too well justified, as the sequel will show. At this time the Convent was by no means a complete wreck. The upper rooms appeared to be intact. They were locked up and were filled with the nuns' belongings. Notices in French were attached to the doors, signed by military authorities, forbidding anyone to enter. I need hardly say that my object in this visit was not to seek the flag. As I learned afterwards, I had in my wanderings through the house passed within a few feet of its hiding place.

I dined at mid-day in the cellar of a college, and there met a priest who was, I understood, the Spiritual Director of the Convent. I asked him if the flag of the Irish Brigade had been saved. He replied that it had always been guarded with the greatest care, and had recently been made doubly secure. This assurance had to suffice for the time. I did not then learn whether the flag had been removed from Ypres.

After this I had neither occasion nor opportunity of visiting Ypres for many months, though later I was to become acquainted with every corner of the ruined town. The second and more severe bombardment took place in April and May, 1915, and continued with more or less intensity during the summer and autumn. It was the period of the first gas attacks, and of the repeated efforts of the German Army to get through to Calais. Without warning the massed guns of the enemy opened fire on the town and rained in shells of all sizes. Soldiers and civilians were literally blown to pieces ; hundreds of men, women and children were killed. For days the town was in flames ; at night the blaze could be seen for miles around. During the daytime the dense black clouds caused by the explosion of the great shells were visible from all sides on the flat plains. Incendiary shells completed the destruction. Every civilian was forced by the military

authorities to evacuate the town. Ypres became a city of the dead. Under certain conditions civilians were allowed to return to take away any of their property which had escaped destruction. They could only enter the town when accompanied by Belgian gendarmes and when furnished with a special pass.

About this time I had heard that the Irish flag had *not* been removed from Ypres, and I began to feel anxious. I had learned that M. Delaere, the Curé of the Church of St. Pierre, Ypres, had been told by the Director of the Irish Convent that the flag had been walled up in a hiding-place in one of the cellars. I had the good fortune to meet this devoted priest at Poperinge, on May 26, 1915. He had for some time been working with the greatest activity to save as much as possible of the valuable property which abounded at Ypres. He told me that the Director had informed him that the nuns had placed the most valuable of their treasures in three walled-up hiding-places, and that the Irish flag was in one of them; he did not know in which. I accompanied the Curé to Ypres on that day, and on many future occasions had opportunities of visiting the ruins of the Convent.

The change which had taken place since my first visit was a sad one. The Convent had been completely gutted by fire. All the inner rooms and flooring had been burnt away. The walls still remained, but nothing else. With a sad exception, the cellars had escaped. In order to penetrate into these cellars it was necessary to descend through a shell hole in the brick floor of one of the lower rooms. By cautiously creeping down an iron girder one reached the basement. In one of these cellars a walled-up space had been found a day or two before; it was still smoking when I first saw it. This hiding-place reached from the ceiling to within two feet of the floor. It was about $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, 3 feet high, and 2 feet deep. As soon as a small hole had been made in the brickwork a volume of flame issued out which had to be extinguished by

water. We proceeded to enlarge the aperture, and began to remove such of the contents as could be recognised. Gold and silver chalices, ciboriums and monstrances, blackened and destroyed by fire, half melted glass vessels, blackened pieces of an ivory crucifix, and such like remnants were found. Other objects, such as half-burnt books and manuscripts, were also found. These were carefully collected and forwarded in a tin box to Paris, and have since been restored to their owners.

We succeeded in locating the other two hiding-places. They had altogether escaped the flames. Their contents, or at least the more valuable objects, were collected hastily and removed. It must be remembered that during all this period shells were falling in the town, and at least on one occasion when I was in the cellar shells actually struck the building. It was, therefore, impossible to do more than save objects of special value. One modest little paper parcel which I passed out was labelled "Lace of Mary Stuart"! But no trace of the flag could be discovered.

It now remained to find out definitely in which of these places the Irish flag had been placed. I wrote to the Mother Abbess, who was in England. I described some of the objects we had found in the burnt-out hiding-place already referred to, and asked if the Irish flag had been placed there. In reply the Mother Abbess wrote me very fully :—

> The hole in which you found the ciborium, etc., and the books you mention is the one where the flag was hidden. We put it in a large tin canister this shape. . . . The pedigree and genealogy of Lady Arthur which you speak of was in the same tin, with the nuns' vows (written on parchment), the Patent Letter with seal of James the Second, and other very valuable manuscripts, and in the middle of these papers the flag was placed. It was a piece of blue stuff with a golden harp painted on it and a lion rampant.

All the objects referred to in this letter had been found in the cavity, including a mass of very white flaky ashes,

which was evidently the remains of the formulae of vows. There was also the remains of a metal box. But no trace of the flag.

It seemed, therefore, only too probable that the flag had perished, but perhaps some portions might have escaped. I spent many hours alone in the cellar and turned over the ashes as systematically as possible. I carefully put aside any remnants of cloth which might possibly have been the remains of the flag. I sent portions of these pieces of cloth to the Mother Abbess, asking her if she could recognise them as being the remains of the flag. In reply I received a post-card, followed by a letter. In the former, dated June 19, the Mother Abbess wrote :—

> The only thing really important is to let you know that what you sent is certainly not what we are looking for. You will perhaps have received by now my last letter, in which I enclosed a (picture) post-card. This will give you the exact colour, it may be a little deeper blue. The stuff was light, between calico and silk—rather soft, the harp was painted on it in yellow and gold (on both sides). . .

I admit that this card was a disappointment to me, as I had found a piece of stuff, almost completely destroyed by the fire, which did appear to have been once blue, and on which there were evident signs of gold paint. This piece was, however, proved to be of much more modern material.

On further inquiry I was told that a tin box had been sent to Paris which contained some burnt papers, etc. This was a box in which we had placed small objects saved from the fire. I felt sure that no portion of the flag was in it. I wrote, however, to the Conservateur Belge, Baron H. Kervyn de Lettenhove, at the Petit Palais, where Belgian property was stored, telling him the state of affairs and asking him for particulars. In reply I received a most kind letter from him, in the course of which he said :—

> Alas, your fears are only too well justified ! Nothing remains of the precious flags. The box—an iron one—was sent to Paris.

We found in this box pieces of burnt wood, small pieces of ivory blackened by fire which had the appearance of coal, belonging to a crucifix, and different pieces of the silver abbatial cross, ornamented with precious stones, blackened by fire, but intact. Then ashes, ashes in which I have not found the slightest vestige of a flag or of any cloth whatever. . . .

These investigations extended over almost a year, and could of course only be carried out during intervals snatched from other more important work. I removed some of the ashes from the last resting place of the famous flag. This would seem to be all that remains of the precious relic of the old Irish Brigade.

It will be useful to add a few words as to the history and nature of the Ypres flag, especially as certain obscurities seem to exist. The regiment of the Irish Brigade under Lord Clare took part, along with the French cavalry, in covering the retreat of the French at the Battle of Ramillies in 1706. In one of the rearguard actions the Irish captured two and probably three flags from the enemy. These flags were deposited by the Brigade in the Irish Convent at Ypres.[1]

Even before the outbreak of war the flags had met with vicissitudes. It appears that towards the early part of the last century the number of nuns of Irish birth in the Ypres Convent was very small, and that for a time there were none. During the regime of an English Mother Abbess, Dame Elizabeth Jerret, the flag or flags were removed from the choir, where they had been in a place of honour, and put elsewhere. The story goes that some German lay sisters were preparing to celebrate the feast of their Patroness, St. Martha, and began to cut up the flags in order to make decorations. One of the nuns came up in time to save portion of the flag. This portion was, as has been shown, in existence at the beginning of the war.

[1] For a full account of this foundation see *The Irish Dames of Ypres*, by Dom P. Nolan, O.S.B. Dublin. 1908.

The question arises as to the nature of the flag. Dom P. Nolan gives a coloured illustration in his work, which is "from a photograph." This represents a golden harp on a blue ground. An animal in gold was a separate piece. In addition, the following passage occurs in the work referred to :—

> The flag, or rather the portion of it which is left, is of a dark blue colour, with a large harp of Erin in reddish gold thereon. A small detached figure of an animal, apparently that of a lion, of a reddish gold colour, is still preserved as part of the original flag. A venerable nun, who remembers the flag in its original entire state, assures me that the colours were blue, yellow, and red. The blue being in the place of honour next the staff. She remembers seeing the figures 17— and the name "Ramellies" inscribed on the flag.

Fr. J. Gwynn, S.J., who was killed while Chaplain to the Irish Guards, took much interest in the Irish Brigade, and some years before the war visited the Convent at Ypres. I have found amongst the lantern slides of his lecture on the Brigade a coloured representation of what was evidently the flag in question, and also a large drawing from which the slide was made. This figure consists of a long rectangle, the extremity of the narrow end away from the mast being in the shape of a B. The half of the rectangle near the mast represents a blue flag with the harp in gold or yellow. The outside half of the rectangle is divided longwise into two smaller rectangles. The upper portion is red, with three animals similar to that referred to by Dom Nolan ; the lower rectangle is yellow. Thus the colours correspond to the description quoted above.

The question arises as to the origin of this flag. No mention is made of any flag being deposited at Ypres except those captured at the Battle of Ramillies. But the flag is evidently Irish. Was it therefore captured from one of the Irish regiments fighting on the English side ? The two Irish units present at the Battle of Ramillies were the 5th R.I. Dragoons, now the 5th Lancers, and the 18th Royal Irish. The former regiment

was clearly in the fight. They seem to have carried a flag with a harp, for their regimental badge has a harp similar to that on the Ypres flag. We are told that in these mounted regiments "Silken Guidons were carried until 1834, when they were ordered to be discontinued, and the badges and honours to be displayed on the appointments instead." The flag, as represented in the slide referred to, has the peculiar B-shaped form which is certainly to be found on other "guidons."

The 18th Royal Irish have a blue silk flag with the number of the battalion in the upper corner near the flag-staff, and in each of the others an escutcheon of the arms of Nassau—a golden lion on an azure field. A harp occupies the centre. It is probable that this flag is at least similar to that of the regiment in 1706. It is to be noted that the lion is not the same as that associated with the Ypres flag. The following from Gretton's *History of the Royal Irish Regiment*, explains their part in the Battle of Ramillies :—

> There is a curious conflict of evidence as to the part played by the Royal Irish in this battle. According to Kane and Parker, the XVIIIth was among the British regiments which, in the extreme right of the allied line, stood all day on a hill without firing a shot. Stearne, on the other hand, records in his journal that the regiment was "greatly mauled" at the attack of the village of Ramellies; and Millner, at the end of his casualty return (in which the losses of the different nationalities is not given), mentions that "upwards of three hundred of our Horse and Dragoon horses were killed or disabled at the head of the Royal Regiment of Foot of Ireland." If Stearne and Millner are correct, it would appear that the XVIIIth was not only employed in the attack on Ramellies but was also in close support of the mounted troops during some part of the pursuit.

There is no doubt that Clare's Dragoons were very hotly engaged with the British. At one time it needed the personal influence of Marlborough himself to encourage his troops. Whether they were ever at close quarters with their countrymen on the other side is not certain.

It does not appear probable that one of the flags of the two Irish regiments referred to was captured, for we learn from "A letter to the Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Sutton for disbanding the Irish Regiments in the service of France and Spain," by Forman, 8th August, 1727, that the only colours lost in the Battle of Ramillies were those of the Scotch Regiment in the Dutch service, and of the English Regiment of Churchill—the present "Buffs."

The only reasonable explanation is that the flag destroyed at Ypres was in reality that of the Irish Brigade which was carried by them at Ramillies, and that it, along with the captured colours, was left at the Convent of the Irish Nuns.

I have on several occasions visited Ypres since these days; the last time was in May, 1918, nearly three years after the date of the events I have recorded. The Germans then seemed to be closing in on the famous ruins, and were only about a mile distant. It was practically deserted, even by troops, being heavily bombarded by gas-shells almost every night. The smell of gas hung around the place. I went to see the Irish Convent; some of the walls were still standing, but the cellars were full of water. It was a time of real anxiety, and the silence and gloom of desolation hung over the dust of the once beautiful town. Happily these forebodings were not fulfilled, and now the *urbs invicta* can be visited in safety.

H. V. GILL.

II.—Recent History in Portugal.

IT seems safe to say that among the many nations whose trials have recently called for exceptional commiseration none has been visited with a catastrophe at once more sudden and more cruel than has befallen Portugal. It is not easy to show in brief space how sad

was the significance for his country of the recent assassination of President Sidonio Paes. For an intelligent view of the matter it will at least be necessary to recall the circumstances which led to and accompanied his brief tenure of power.

Since the assassination of Dom Carlos and his eldest son on the 1st of February, 1908, a *régime* had taken the place of the Portuguese monarchy, which described itself as "republican," "democratic," and "liberal," and had as little right to these high-sounding epithets as the worst junta which has ever seized power in a "banana republic" of South or Central America. The system, however, of secret and open repression and terror by which its chiefs secured power, advancement and wealth for themselves was no feeble imitation of the Terrorists of the *Grande Révolution*, to whose methods it added some modern improvements. Their professions of constitutional reform served to veil a narrowly selfish demagogy. Crude violence in external action was made possible by the hidden or half-hidden support of Freemason and Carbonari lodges. Illegality went garbed in hypocritical professions. Imprisonments *en masse* of citizens guilty of no other crime than suspected hostility to the new *régime*; suppression of all freedom of speech, unrelenting persecution of the Catholic Church in the name of "liberty of worship"; the disfranchisement of nearly half the electorate in the name of "freedom"—these were some outstanding features of a system which during eight years made itself so detested in Portugal that its downfall was greeted with an unprecedented unanimity of joy and enthusiasm.

It was in December, 1917, that a counter-revolution, judiciously planned and gradually led up to, succeeded, after a brief episode of violent conflict, in overthrowing the *régime* of the Carbonarios and their armed supporters. A provisional government was established, of which the leading personage was Senhor Sidonio Paes. He had been Professor of Mathematics at the University of

Coimbra. A republican from his boyhood, he had gained a reputation for ability and patriotism which, after leaving Coimbra, he increased as soldier and diplomatist. At the opening of 1918 he could easily have established himself—for a time at least—as dictator; he preferred, however, to claim but a temporary tenure of office, to associate with himself two colleagues of moderate views, and to refer the formation of a permanent government to the verdict—deferred for only five months' space—of direct and comprehensive national suffrage. The vote was taken, with a degree of *bona fides* which constitutes, we fancy, a record, in the not brilliant history of "plebiscites." As a result, Portugal, since April the 18th, 1918, was ruled by Sidonio Paes as President, by a Senate numbering 77, and by a Chamber of Deputies numbering 165.

Under the monarchy suffrage had been limited chiefly by a standard of taxable capacity; this system constituted a body of some 400,000 electors, of whom about half were in the habit of exercising their franchise. The "democrats" of the revolutionary *régime* imposed a so-called educational test. This test worked out in so extraordinary a fashion that notorious illiterates were allowed to the polls while men of professional and university standing were declared "not qualified." The number of electors was reduced to a possible 200,000 or so, of whom only about 80,000 actually recorded their votes. Under the Paes government some 880,000 voters were given rights. On the eventful 28th day of April last, about 550,000 appeared at the polls, and of these over 500,000 voted for Sidonio Paes as President of the Republic.

Those who came into personal contact with the new President have given high commendations of his qualities as man and as ruler. He had always shown himself a convinced republican, but was clear of the stains which have rested on many prominent Portuguese wearers of that badge. High popularity, vehement popular applause and substantial success never altered the straightforward

simplicity of his manners or his plain and industrious daily life. His appearance was eminently calculated to inspire confidence in the dignity and strength of his character.

With unbounded self-devotion, unusual ability, and a courage which bordered on rashness, Sidonio Paes applied himself to the peaceful re-settlement of his country. He restored religious liberty to the imprisoned and persecuted clergy, recalled the exiled bishops, renewed diplomatic relations with the Holy See. He took a clear and definite stand—for a time misrepresented by his enemies—on the side of the *Entente*. He was deeply concerned for and in works of economic and social importance, and his efforts in this direction were admirably seconded by his own personal charity and kindness towards the poor and afflicted. During a cholera epidemic at Oporto he personally inspected the hospitals and ordered practical measures of sanitary reform throughout the city. He at the same time visited the prisons, and having satisfied himself that certain officers there detained for political offences had been treated with undue rigour, he procured their immediate release.

"Il faut que les bons se rassurent, que les méchants tremblent." Sidonio Paes neglected nothing to secure that the first part of the famous formula should be verified; he was perhaps too gentle in his methods of securing the second. After the *coup-d'état* of December, 1917, severe punishments were indeed decreed for numerous political and other offenders; but soon justice yielded place to numerous pardons and amnesties. Generosity, he thought, might conquer and leave a better and more lasting inheritance than severity. But generosity was not repaid in like terms.

In October and again in November revolutionary outbreaks took place. Both were defeated, and with no great difficulty. As the death-penalty no longer exists in Portugal, the leaders were condemned to exile; among them were the Grand Master and several leading per-

sonages of Portuguese Freemasonry, together with the chief of the Carbonarios. The President's general popularity became greater than ever, but in like proportion increased the hatred of his enemies. He was warned of their determination to get rid of him at all costs, but he refused to take precautions. On the 5th December Lisbon fêted at once the anniversary of the downfall of the revolutionary junta and the conclusion of the European War: the President, leading a triumphal procession through the city, was fired at three times by a degenerate named Luis Batista. None of the shots took effect; a cry of "miracle" was raised, and the President was not led by his narrow escape to increase his guards or other precautions.

It is needless to re-tell the story of how, on the 14th December, the bullet of another assassin ended the life of Sidonio Paes in a street of Lisbon. Of the universal and heartfelt character of the mourning which followed the crime we shall presently give some evidence from an eye-witness. Meantime, the edifice of public order and security which the murdered President had begun to build up did not at once fall to the ground, as his enemies hoped; its tenure, however, has remained precarious.

Into the criticisms to which the methods and acts of the 1918 *régime* have given scope we will not now enter. From the side of impartial and fair-minded judges they have been singularly few and slight. The counter-Revolution has been reproached with maintaining a too dictatorial and concentrated authority, and with ruthless severity towards political opponents. "Political opponents" is a mild term for gangs of assassins and their secret organizers, and the truth seems to be that the President, in his dealings with such persons, was lenient to an excessive degree. The charges of dictatorial and concentrated authority might, it is probable, lose all plausibility were it viewed in contrast with the difficulties that the new government had to face and overcome.

As regards public feeling and current views in Portugal

after the assassination of the President, the following passages from a private letter written by an Irish lady resident in Lisbon, and dated January 1, 1919, will be read with interest. We give them without comment :—

Christmas was a very sad time in this country ; the recent tragedy cast a gloom over all and everything. How like the world, where 'tis necessary for one to die before all the good qualities are discovered ! The Monarchists never appreciated his great worth ; nothing less than royalty could satisfy them ; now the tune is changed, they are all in mourning and begin to realise the loss. There is no one, as far as I can hear, at all fit to fill his shoes. The morning of the awful occurrence, early as it was, he went to Confession and Holy Communion, knowing those fiends had vowed to take his life. He was going to Porto (here we do not use the O, the place is called as I have written it), and at Bocio, the large terminus, the awful deed was done. All seemed dazed for the time being. Knowing so well that ? might be here any minute, boxes were hurriedly packed and all with nerves at high pitch waiting to know what might be. Many went to other houses in the hope of safety—the higher and grander the more danger. . . . All who had not black clothes put bands on their arms ; even till now no one is seen in bright colours. The body was embalmed and lay in state at the Palace at Belem. I tried, but even by tram going there was not possible. Some of the servants who succeeded in getting into the tram could not get into the Palace, the place was so packed. The stream of people from early morning till the place was closed was uncountable.

The remains were taken some days before the funeral from Belem to the Municipal Hall ; there also it was impossible to gain entrance. All the time from the death guns were fired at intervals and, of course, all the flags out half-mast high. The day of the funeral was glorious, and so warm. From the terrace here I had a fairly good view ; one was afraid to go into the streets, which were lined with people from early morning. Windows were let at enormous prices, and some people went to take their places at 9 a.m. . . . All were averse to being in the street, not knowing how one could get back. You will have heard of what happened—bombs were thrown at the coffin, and the glass of the ? smashed. They buried him at Jeronymons, where all the kings are, and even

there a strong guard has to be kept, as they try to get the body to throw it into the river.

The poor, whom he loved and helped in every way and who will miss him so, and the poor little children—every month 80 were fed and got some garment, and I forget the number in 3 or 4 figures who were to get a grand dinner and gift of some useful thing at Christmas. Soup-kitchens were opened in so many places, all to help the poor. Recently I was told he one night came in late and tired to dinner, and when just about to begin (he had been on some rounds to the poor) remembered some special case which had slipped from memory, and at once, without waiting to dine, ordered the motor and went off. Churches were re-opened in many places, and I can't for certain say if priests were again appointed to the cemetery-chapels ; you know the people [under the previous *régime*] were buried like dogs. Of course with the late epidemic it would be beyond impossible to get them to attend ; thank God, that is almost of the past now ; but we have had another scare—small-pox, which I hope is on the wane. There's always something : everyone had to be re-vaccinated.

Since that letter was written, civil war has begun. Portugal is torn by three contending parties—too well balanced to afford strong hope of a peaceful and permanent settlement. On January 20th, 1919, a monarchist outbreak gained ground in Oporto, where till recently it held or divided authority, and led to some days of fighting in Lisbon, where, supported by a section of the army, but not by the Navy, it was subdued by the Republican government. During that time, as Dom Manoel hesitated to entrust himself to his Portuguese subjects, overtures were made to his cousin Dom Miguel ; but he also declined the dangerous honour of competing for so uncertain a crown.

The same informants speak disquietingly of the attitude ascribed by rumour to certain royalists—an attitude alleged to be one of active participation in the conspiracy against the late President and its fatal issue. Such allegations—directly contrary to official statements that Freemason and ultra-Republican plotters were the guilty parties—are not to be credited without clearer evidence.

MIGUEL D.

REVIEWS.

Biography.

SAINTE CHANTAL. A Study in Vocation. By E. K. Sanders. London: S.P.C.K. 1918. 313 pp. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

St. Jane Frances de Chantal deserves to be better known in these countries. If we are not mistaken, only two lives of her have appeared in English—the narrative life in the Quarterly Series and the translation in the Oratorian Series of the intimate memoir by Madame de Chaugy with its amusing reticence concerning the relations of St. Jane and Angélique Arnauld. In addition we have St. Jane's Deposition on St. Francis de Sales published in the library of Burns & Oates.

Religious biography has varied in style to suit the taste of different periods. There is the uncritical life which dwells wholly on the supernatural element. To this succeeded the critical or higher-critical life chiefly busy with exactness in dates and controversy on detail—history rather than biography. In recent years the French school has sought to combine these two, though the tendency still is to lay stress on the natural character of saints. French, too, is the study, so popular in all forms of modern biography, wherein attention is centred mainly on the interplay of character and circumstance.

The present volume from an Anglican source is, as its sub-title suggests, a study rather than a narrative. The framework of the life is skilfully preserved and the main incidents told; but the writer is chiefly concerned with analysis of the Saint's spiritual development. On reading the description "A Study in Vocation," we expected to find much about "experience," "Communion with the Ideal," and such phraseology as William James has used to cloud the simplicity of the supernatural and mystical elements of sanctity. But the author is quite free from such influence, and in writing a history that is a "supreme assertion of the supernatural element in ordinary life" recognises throughout that the natural character of the saint was transformed by grace—a word which is used though with some appearance of reluctance. By "Vocation" the author understands the acceptance by the

creature of a divine call—not an isolated act of acceptance but an acceptance of certain supernatural principles which are to change the creature's attitude to all the circumstances of life. The initial response to the call involves implicitly much that is only unfolded in the whole course of the saint's life. Further, the supernatural principles so accepted are not a vast body of truth, but certain principles selected from among the many truths into which the simplicity of the supernatural is resolved for the purposes of human action. In St. Jane Frances' case her spiritual life is a steady striving after simplicity based on total surrender to the Divine Will. A saint needs some supernatural formulary to serve for constant application in the manifold experiences of life, some point of view inadequate yet not deceptive from which he or she may correctly estimate events and decide on his or her course of action. The formulary of self-surrender guided St. Jane Frances and the author studies its application to the many activities, mental and spiritual as well as material, of this most retired of contemplatives.

The study is not confined, however, to the saint's vocation alone. Her point of view is put in interesting comparison with that of others who gathered round her and caught from her or from St. Francis de Sales the spirit of the Visitation. Great skill is shown in depicting the difficulties that arose when the diverse though lofty formularies of different individuals were applied to the same circumstances. Thoreau has said that, if men are not marching in time, it may be that they are moving to the beat of different drummers. There was in St. Jane's life much of the tragedy of all great lives, the misunderstanding, accentuated by the intolerance of the good, which is due to the inadequacy of all human principles. Truth is diversely rendered through the medium of different characters. Quite an interesting section of the book brings St. Jane's point of view into contrast with that of the ordinary world; for her rank and the high place taken by the children of her early marriage never allowed her to free herself, as she would have wished, from all contact with the life that lay beyond her convent walls. The lives of these children and her experience with some of the famous reformées who fell under her charm add to the human interest of the book.

We are sometimes told the saints are human beings like ourselves. This study serves to show the falseness of this half truth. It teaches uncompromisingly page by page that in the individual an extraordinary transformation is wrought by grace wherein the subject of the change plays but a subject's part, the natural charac-

ter being only a co-factor working with the grace of vocation. This study of transformation will repay careful reading. Indeed it can hardly be read superficially, as the author's style is rather too stilted for easy reading. The only exception we take to the analysis is that the writer has in one place been too greatly charmed by the pride that was Port Royal. W. O'C.

Fiction.

ORIEL. By Bernard Duffy. Dublin: Talbot Press. 1918. 7*s.* net.

This is a "fresh and joyous" book. Something quite out of the common, too, for an Irish writer, containing nothing of the rollicking humour of the early Victorian school or the pessimistic melancholy of present-day novelists. Mr. Duffy has struck a new vein, or so at least it seems to us, and it is one that might well be "worked" more extensively. While the book is entirely Irish and almost entirely Dublin in its atmosphere, nevertheless, it is devoid altogether of the peculiar self-conscious, propagandist tone which pervades most stories that concern themselves with life in this country. One might say that Mr. Duffy's characters are human beings first and Irish afterwards; the reverse is too often the case in Irish books. It is not that the author hides in any way the nationality of his creatures but rather that he does not obtrude it. In this one is reminded somehow of the difference between Protestant and Catholic novels. In the former religion is seldom definitely stressed; in the latter it is almost invariably emphasised. And in Mr. Duffy's book, while his characters go to Mass instead of attending Divine Service, the impression given is that this is just the natural thing for them to do, not that it is a demonstration of their piety.

Comparisons are odious but inevitable in this instance, since the publishers themselves, on the artistic if somewhat flamboyant "jacket," do not hesitate to liken Mr. Duffy to Dickens. Though we have said that there is little of the Irish Victorian writers in Mr. Duffy's style, it must be allowed that it does suggest in no small degree that of the great English novelist. One observes this in the "characters" that abound in his pages, such as "the Professor," the Dean, Mr. Corbell, and so on, as well as in the set comic scenes like the dinner at the "Brazen Head." Again, the story of Oriel's career is faintly reminiscent of *David Copperfield.*

Mr. Duffy has evidently studied the works of Mr. W. J. Locke as well as those of Dickens. Not that there is the slightest plagiarism, but somehow the memory is awakened. It must be left to the reader to find out for himself the vicissitudes of the hero's

life from his *debut* as a foundling to the happy Victorian ending with wedding-bells. We may allude, however, to the description of his experiences as an acolyte (or an altar-boy, as we say in Dublin), which is all the more interesting because an episode of boyhood seldom presented to us. The Dublin reader will, however, derive most pleasure from that portion of the story which takes place in his native city.

Mr. Duffy is at his best when giving us *vignettes* of our ancient capital. Here he runs most risk of writing like everyone else, and here he is most decidedly himself. Whether it be of the purlieus of Patrick's Cathedral, or St. Stephen's Green, or the National Library that he is writing he presents to us pictures of places that we know, and we like them all the better for their familiarity and for the fidelity with which they are drawn. A description of "the Harp" music-hall and the "Evergreen Pat" Kinsella will arouse thoughts of a day that is dead in many of his readers. Both are gone for ever.

Mr. Duffy's style is easy; unaffected to the verge of simplicity. There is no striving after effect, no attempt at epigram. In this respect he resembles, perhaps, the great mass of fiction writers as certainly as he provides a contrast to "the elect," whether they hail from Ireland or across the water. We fancy this must be a first essay in novel writing on his part, and with more practice may come more polish, an "up-to-dateness" which he lacks at present. Dickens is dead, though some of his characters may be immortal. But Mr. Duffy's feet are on the right path. He has produced an Irish book which does not depend on historical, religious, or political issues for its interest, and it is to be hoped that he will give us other stories of like nature in due season.

The *Talbot Press* have turned out the book in good style, albeit the "jacket" is of such startling colours as to make modest people prefer the nude. W. D.

A GARDEN BY THE SEA. Stories and Sketches. By Forrest Reid. Dublin: The Talbot Press. 1918. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

WRACK AND OTHER STORIES. By Dermot O'Byrne. Dublin: The Talbot Press. 1918. 3*s.* 6*d.* net.

SILHOUETTES. Some Character Studies from North and South. By Hugh A. MacCartan. Dublin: Kiersey. 1918. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

DARK DAYS. By Lennox Robinson. Talbot Press. 1918. 1*s.* net.

Some two years ago Mr. E. A. Boyd, in his *Ireland's Literary Renaissance*, complained that, though Anglo-Irish literature had

been rich in poetry and drama, "the absence of good prose fiction is noticeable." The chapter of which this was the opening remark might well, we think, go far to make one doubt the well-foundedness of the complaint. And the Anglo-Irish literature that has been published since it was written might go still further. It is otherwise with Mr. Boyd's next remark, which is to the effect that contemporary Irish writers seem little interested in the novel as such. They prefer a more amorphous form of fiction. They show to most advantage in the short story or the sketch. Of the substantial truth of this a glance back at recent Anglo-Irish literature would convince us. As Carleton's best work was given to us in *Traits and Stories, Tales and Sketches,* though he wrote novels as well, so the best work of Jane Barlow is to be found in *Irish Idylls* and its like, though she too attempted the novel form. May we not say the same of writers so dissimilar as Somerville and Ross, Seumas MacManus and Archibald McIlroy? And even writers the majority of whose books are cast in novel form—Rosa Mulholland, Katharine Tynan, Emily Lawless, George Moore, E. Temple Thurston, M. E. Francis, Alice Dease, Shan F. Bullock—have put some of their best work into their short stories.

If one may judge by the literary output of, say, the last two or three years, this tendency would seem to be on the increase. The four little books that lie before us for review are typical examples of this output. They have appeared within the last four or five months. Not long before them we had volumes of sketches by "Seumas O'Sullivan," Herbert Pim, St. John Ervine, Brian O'Higgins, James Stephens, Seumas O'Kelly, Daniel Corkery, Lord Dunsany, "Dermot O'Byrne," and even "Geo. A. Birmingham," not to mention less known writers.

Of these four books it may, we think, be said that, though otherwise greatly differing, they have this much in common—they are all of high literary quality, but their quality is distinctly literary. They are not—like Carleton or Seumas MacManus or Brian O'Higgins at their best—racy of the soil. Not that they are wholly out of touch with real life, but that in them experience and reality reach us refined after passing through the medium of cultivated and well-stored minds. With this trait in common, however, the resemblance ends.

The author of *A Garden by the Sea* is already known by five or six noteworthy novels. It is doubtful if in any of them his particular gifts show to better advantage than in this little volume of sketches. They are on unconventional lines and are treated with high literary skill. The style has a peculiar and pleasing rhythm and flavour.

There are exquisite bits of nature study. And, as in his novel, *The Spring Song*, the author shows his delicate insight into the moods of the boy mind. But a hideous piece of tragedy such as "An Ulster Farm," and a chapter of matter of fact, however strange, such as "A Trial for Witch Craft," seem out of place among such exquisite idylls as the title-story and "An Ending"—a picture of Bruges-la-morte.

Wrack, like the author's previous volume *Children of the Hills*, is a work of almost pure fantasy. It appeals neither to the emotions nor to one's sense of the beautiful. It is without heart. Nor has it the interest of plot and narrative. But the author, if one would yield oneself to him, has a strange power of conveying impressions of fantastic horror, or elemental passion, or savage squalor. Many of the settings are in remote periods of Irish history, but they are used solely for artistic purposes. The author is steeped in Gaelic lore, yet could by no means be described as "kindly Irish of the Irish."

Silhouettes is wholly different. Though highly literary, it is also (unlike *Wrack*) thoroughly human. And—again unlike the other—much of its charm derives from the sense of place. The human interest comes partly from the author's personality, which one glimpses in the background, partly from the sympathetic studies of peculiar types whom he has known. The places in question are a country village in Co. Down, a suburb of Belfast, and the streets of Dublin. In reading Mr. MacCartan's impressions of the last-named, one is reminded of Seumas O'Sullivan's *Mud and Purple*. The style is refined, reposeful, and of rich literary flavour.

Silhouettes ends on a wistful note—"humiliation at the thought that he had taken no part either in the material failure or the spiritual triumph" of Easter, 1916. This is exactly the note of Lennox Robinson's tiny booklet of scarcely twenty pages. The dates of its four little studies are significant—August, 1915 ("An Irishwoman and the War"); May, 1916 ("A Sinn Feiner"); May, 1916, again; August, 1916 ("In Silence and Tears"). Slight as they are these sketches leave an impression of sincerity and deep feeling. They have the authentic accent of that emotion which swept like a tide through Ireland during that fateful year.

S. J. B.

History.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIETY AND THE LAND. A Review of the Social Systems of the Middle Ages in Britain, their Growth and their Decay: with a Special Reference to Land War. Supplemented by Some Observations on the Connection with Modern Conditions. By J. W. Jeudwine, LL.B., F.R.Hist.S. London: Williams & Norgate. 1918. 18s. net.

In his earlier work, *The Manufacture of Historical Material*, Mr. Jeudwine revealed certain qualities of mind displayed again in the present book. He gave it a title hardly indicative of its contents. In historical judgment he proved himself strangely erratic, both in the pure and in the corrupt meanings of that word. In legal exposition he was shrewd, sound and original. It was decidedly original of him, at this hour, to regard Law, not as a jig-saw of pleadings and precedents, of statutes and evasions, but as the creator, binder and healer of social life. Hence his impatience with the beginnings of English Law as revealed in the Year Books of the Fourteenth Century. Hence also his admiration for the Law of the Irish State as embodied in the books used by the Brehons. Indeed, to our knowledge, he was the first Englishman to examine the "Brehon Law" and to tell of his discovery; and, keeping closely to legal exposition, his comparison of the characteristic conception of one code with the characteristic conception of the other unfolded history far more truly than when he turned to take us into his confidence as to the real meaning of the history of certain western islands.

In *The Foundations of Society and the Land*, however, it is not so easy to disentangle his history from his social exposition. The book is difficult to read with any intelligent appreciation of the facts with which it deals, because Mr. Jeudwine has fitted them into a Procrustean bed of his own imagining. He insists on bringing the "Brehon Law," the Feudal System of England, and the Odal Society of the Hebrides to a common focus before treating of either of them; and sometimes he does not perceive, at other times he is troubled to discover, that he loses in this way the individual focus that each requires before it can properly be examined. "The Irish Seanchus Mor," says he, "gives us an example of such a deliberative and administrative assembly in *Britain*." West Britain, presumably; but—so early as this? At one stroke, however, we have lost the meaning of that assembly, of the deliberations that proceeded therein, and of the administra-

tion, and the nature of the authority required for the administration, that ensued thereafter.

Nor is this criticism just a captious advantage taken of a faulty sentence. The waters of the book are too frequently troubled by the presence of the monster whose fin only occasionally comes quite so clearly above the surface. The result is a confusion of thinking that is very often baffling to the reader. It is not true to say that in the thirteenth century the civil polity of Ireland, the Odal system either of the Hebrides or of Norway, and the feudal organisation of England were different stages of one and the same thing. The Roman land-tenure of Columella might have been a development from that of Cincinnatus; though even there the changes had come by methods too forceful rightly to be considered as a development. But, a millennium later, there was no connection between the military system established in England and the civil polity developed in Ireland. One was a ready scheme of mobilisation, developed from the Romans during centuries of continental warfare, and forced on England, with certain changes that made for a greater and more centralised efficiency, the other, a social and national economy developed by the deliberations of a free legislating people (who had early overthrown the exactions of their own military system) into a State polity. Not only was there no connection between the two. They were mutually antagonistic—and proved to be so, bitterly enough, in the event. Whereas the udallers, for geographical and historical causes not being able to develope a national system, rested at the social and economic stage. The essential point is the three systems must be examined as identities apart. To conceive of them as merged in some other identity must result in confusion.

For example, the unit on the land in Ireland was a freeman, who had not only, on coming of age, a right to his holding of arable, together with a proportionate run on the commonage, but a direct voice in State affairs. He was framed in a political community, the executive head of which was elected by his vote. That executive head had of necessity to be a man of wealth; for, as Mr. Jeudwine very clearly and ably shows, his was a position of responsibility, inasmuch as, when occasion required, distress was levied on him in the first instance for the acts of the whole. But his power was strictly limited. Even when he proceeded to the national assembly "the head of every family" (Ceann-fine) went with him "to make laws or inter-territorial regulations." In England, however, under Feudalism, the unit was the villein, who also had allotted to him, though not as by right, a proportion of arable with a similar run

on the commonage. But that was all. Far from his having a voice in the State, the State issued statutes that either ignored him or placed further bonds upon him. In strange works issued as history Magna Carta is vaunted as the charter of English liberty, whereas by Magna Carta the English villein was placed in the absolute power of the Norman baron. The measure of Magna Carta is discovered in the Statutes of Merton which soon followed, and which gave power to the baron to enclose the commonage, so finally turning the land-tillers into a town-proletariat. One has only to compare such legislative instruments as the Statute of Merton or *Quia Emptores*, with *Crith Gabhlach* and "Judgments in Co-tenancy" to realise the world of difference between the two systems, and therefore, *a fortiori*, the land-tiller under the two systems. The comparison is as just when we come to administration. It is impossible to conceive of a brehon's judgment being neglected: he who defied the judgment was at once outlawed by the fellowship whose own the law was. Whereas there is nothing to shew the judgments given by Stonore J. and Hillary J., quoted by Mr. Jeudwine on p. 271 as giving the villein a right as against his lord in the commonage in the event of enclosures, were ever regarded as anything more than parts of an interesting game in black-letter.

In endeavouring, therefore, to bring both of these units to a common focus Mr. Jeudwine wrongs both. He makes one to appear much less, and the other much more, than a separate examination would justify. The freeman (that is to say, the man who remained in his Tuath, and did not drift or was not driven elsewhere) in Ireland has less than his due of dignity accorded him; whereas the villein under English feudalism is more nobly and decently set upon his feet than was actually the case. As a consequence the causes that led in England to the earliest grants in soccage are hardly considered. In short, the parts are out of focus. This is not the case when Mr. Jeudwine considers either system exclusively of the others. Chapters vi., vii., viii., ix., and x., for example, in which he deals with the social and economic side of the Irish national polity, should be read by all Irishmen; particularly as we are not aware that any modern Irish writer has given the careful attention to the "Laws of Ireland" that they reveal. Their incidental history may not always be secure; but the social and economic exposition shews careful reading. Equally valuable are his chapters on enclosures in England, and on the position of the "Waste" in feudalism under the direct administration of the king. Much incidental light is thrown upon both when he comes to the economic causes that led to the clearances in the Scottish Highlands during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

One feels, therefore, that it is a pity Mr. Jeudwine has not let his meditations follow upon his exposition, instead of sending them forth as forerunners. A wealth of reading has gone to the making of this book. If only because it provides a valuable reference to other books it is sure of its place on the bookshelves. But it is more than that. We know of no book that covers the ground Mr. Jeudwine has chosen, that covers it so widely and covers it so completely. All the greater pity, therefore, that it lacks just that distinctness and sharpness that are so necessary. Certainly it is a book Irishmen should read—not because, within clearly defined limits, Mr. Jeudwine takes up the cudgels on their behalf, but in order to discover that much wisdom lies hid, not in the ends of the earth, but in the political and social economy of their elders.

DARRELL FIGGIS.

NATIONAL SELF-GOVERNMENT : Its Growth and Principles. By Ramsay Muir, Professor of Modern History in the University of Manchester. London : Constable. 1918. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

THIS forms the third in order of publication, the second in logical order of three volumes which claim to give a history of the political development of the modern world. It ought certainly to do what the author claims for it, namely, to help towards a better understanding of the political problems of the immediate past and of the near future. We are presented with what is on the whole an attractive and fairly satisfactory account of the advent of self-government, in one form or another, in most of the countries of Europe. There are many readers who will find such a book very useful.

The modest claims made by the author in his preface almost disarm anything in the nature of hostile criticism. And considering all the circumstances, the merits of the volume outweigh the defects. It is especially successful in tracing the significance and development of self-government in Britain, and in bringing to light the factors which helped so much to smooth the way of this progress. Perhaps in reading over these pages the reader will once again have reason to appreciate the knowledge of how to manage their own people which the English governing classes have uniformly shown. The political education to which Bismarkian Germany subjected its people seems very crude in comparison with that of which the English masses reaped the benefit for so many centuries. It is to be regretted that the author does

not give as much attention to the latter as he does to the former. A passing reference to "snobbery" is scarcely sufficient.

The author seems to apologize for the fact that his book contains "more disquisition than narrative, more argument than fact." Yet on the whole I think that his history is on a higher level than his political philosophy. Not that at times his critical faculty is by any means dormant. He is quite successful in unveiling the form of autocracy which lay scarcely hid behind the simulacrum of universal suffrage in Germany. That he is equally determined to unveil similar shams elsewhere it would be idle to maintain.

There is perhaps too pronounced a tendency towards apotheosis of Britain and all things British, with a corresponding inability fully to appreciate the strong points in the political evolution and constitution of other countries. One has the feeling that self-government properly belongs to that people whose devotion to principle never degenerated into doctrinairism, and whose chief political virtue is compromise. The Americans, indeed, it would seem, have inherited this same sound commonsense, but their constitution is held to be too definite and rigid to give full scope to this saving principle. I think the author is, on the whole, somewhat too keen to point out the contingent drawbacks of other systems, and to pass too lightly over the real weaknesses in the British.

Few readers in this country but will sympathise with the strong denunciation of what I might call ethical materialism, and with the eloquent insistence on the necessity of a moral code binding on nations as well as on individuals. The circumstances in which the book appears apparently prevent the author tracing in all its fulness the history of the ruling ideas in the statecraft of the last four centuries. The issue is narrowed down to the havoc created by recent German materialism, state-worship and breach of public faith. But we may hope that by implication at all events some of the most characteristic English speculation in philosophy, ethics and jurisprudence comes under the same ban; and that its theory of international law is, in the future, to be made to rest on a more secure moral basis than it has rested on up to the present.

One of the principal criticisms that may be made against this book is that the political terminology employed is altogether too indefinite to prevent the reader who is not a professed student of history or of political science—as it is to such that the author expressly makes his appeal—from carrying away misleading or, at best, confused impressions. To speak of the England of the Tudor

monarchy and of the eighteenth century as self-governing is likely to give a wrong impression to the ordinary reader, even though explanations be added, unless other countries are dealt with in the same generous fashion—and this is not the case. Or how can it be reasonably said that after the revolution of 1830 in France " effective popular control over government was henceforth solidly secured " ? Furthermore, I do not think that the ordinary reader, for whom the book is intended, has at all sufficiently made clear to him the differences between Constitutionalism, Liberalism and Democracy. Yet unless such distinctions are clearly insisted on, it seems impossible to find a pathway through the mazes of modern political history.

If I have called attention to some of its blemishes, I am by no means anxious to deny that this work will prove useful. It would have been still more useful did it not belong to the " Literature of the War." The author's thesis is that the real issue at stake in the War is the success or failure of self-government. I have expressly avoided discussing it from this point of view. Those who have devoted some time to a critical perusal of even scientific works written under the obsession of the great struggle will probably agree that they show more trace of honest human emotion than of that impartiality of mind which is supposed to be the result of scientific training in history.

The style is always easy and attractive, and at times eloquent. The Chapter on " The Supreme Issue," with which the book closes, is a regular War-song in prose, and is evidence of how deeply the author has felt the struggle in which his country has been engaged.

J. M. O'S.

Philosophy.

A COMMENTARY TO KANT'S "CRITIQUE OF PURE REASON." By Norman Kemp Smith, D.Phil., McCosh Professor of Philosophy, Princeton University. London : Macmillan. 1918. Pp. lxi.+615. 21*s.* net.

THIS masterly commentary will be a boon to students of Kant. It aims at unbiassed interpretation and unflinching, if sympathetic, criticism. It is the first commentary in English which is up-to-date, in the sense of using the material collected from Kant's private papers for throwing light on the genesis of his views. The book has

so many departures from the usual interpretation that it should prove stimulating even to those who are at home in the Critique. In this brief notice I can only indicate these departures.

First, the author attributes more importance to the Deduction of the Categories in the first edition than to that in the second edition. It is true that the "subjective deduction" of the first edition was partly suppressed in the second. But "we may now, after an interval of a hundred years and the labours of so many devoted students, profess to understand Kant better than he understood himself." The "objective deduction" of the second edition rests upon and uses the results of the subjective deduction, and throughout the whole Critique they are presupposed.

The lengthy discussion of the Deduction of the first edition is, accordingly, the most interesting and important part of the book. This portion of the Critique is "more difficult than even a metaphysical treatise has a right to be." It is, indeed, taken as it stands, unintelligible. The Commentary shows it to be pieced together from various earlier and later manuscripts. It has neither beginning nor end. Even worse, it begins where it should end. The doctrine of a three-fold transcendental synthesis, with which its main section opens, can be shown by evidence from Kant's private notes (especially a note written on a university document dated 1780) to have been arrived at by Kant only very shortly before the publication of the Critique. A sudden and baffling break in the context under the heading "Synthesis of Recognition in the Concept" is ingeniously explained by the hypothesis that Kant, finding this hastily adopted doctrine impossible to work out, hurriedly completed the paragraph by fitting in an earlier, pre-Critical manuscript.

In tracing out the earlier and later strata of the Deduction, the author follows in the main the views of Vaihinger, but differs from him and most commentators in one important particular. He eliminates from Kant's maturer teaching any reference to a "transcendental object." The author points out that he is the first to use this clue for diagnosing pre-Critical or semi-Critical passages.

This emphasis on the Deduction of the first edition entails another position which marks off the author from most commentators. He insists strongly on the importance of Kant's "transcendental psychology." The "psychologism" from which Riehl and many others so jealousy defend Kant is here regarded as one of his fundamental tenets. Besides the logical, *a priori* conditions of consciousness, there must be also the real, ontological, dynamical conditions or agencies, which generate the *a priori* factors. Without

these, Kant's whole explanation of the possibility of experience remains unsupported. To cut away this vital doctrine is to profoundly misinterpret Kant.

Many of the commentators rob Kant of much of his suggestiveness by pruning away secondary tendencies and seeking to find in him one consistent view expressed throughout. The Critique has no unity of doctrine. The text is highly composite, made up of manuscripts hastily put together for publication; and the work must be taken rather as a record of the working of Kant's mind than as a finished body of doctrine. In interpreting it, we may, in general, take Kant as meaning exactly what he says at the time he says it. It is, therefore, not surprising that inconsistent views constantly meet us, often on the same page. The most original feature of this commentary is the working out in detail, in a highly interesting and illuminating fashion, of two pairs of conflicting tendencies which cross one another throughout the Critique.

The first and more radical conflict is that between a "subjectivism," in which experience is held to be brought about by the conscious synthetic activities elaborating a sense manifold which is caused by material objects acting on the sense organs; and a "phenomenalism," in which the mind is regarded as apprehending directly, not its own states, but an independent world of appearances, empirical objects, causally connected in space and time. The latter is the genuine Critical view; and yet it is never explicitly formulated in all its bearings by Kant. To the end he constantly alternates between these two contradictory views; and most of his fundamental discussions show traces of the conflict. It gets its most pronounced expression in his "refutations of Idealism," in which directly opposite conclusions are proved. The second great conflict of tendencies is between the sceptical and the constructive or absolutist interpretation of the faculty of Reason. Here again Kant's thought moves along the parallel lines of these alternative views. Added to all this is the fact that Kant's personal thinking is often at variance with his official doctrines. This accounts, *e.g.*, for his frequent statements giving a spiritualist view of the self, which are inconsistent with his conclusions in the Dialectic.

Thus, the solutions of the Critique are largely experimental and tentative. We can, however, trace out roughly, from this record of twelve years' thinking, the view towards which Kant's mind is toiling, but which his pre-occupation with fresh problems—ethical, aesthetical, religious—prevented him, now a man of fifty-seven, from ever thinking out to its final issues.

J. SHINE.

I.—*THE METAPHYSICAL THEORY OF THE STATE: A Criticism.* By Prof. L. T. Hobhouse, D.Litt. London: Allen & Unwin. 1918. Pages 156. Price 6*s.* net.

II.—*SOCIAL PURPOSE: A Contribution to a Philosophy of Civic Society.* By Prof. H. J. W. Hetherington, M.A., and Prof. J. H. Muirhead, LL.D. London: Allen & Unwin. 1918. Pages 314. Price 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

(1.) Prof. Hobhouse's book belongs to the category of war literature. But except in the preface—where some obscure connection between Hegel and Gothas is hinted at—there is practically no reference to war topics. For which we may be genuinely thankful since the work has a permanent value. War mentality has, however, given the book a little bias. It professes to be a rather trenchant criticism of the Hegelian political philosophy whose chief English protagonist is taken to be Dr. Bosanquet. Thus not only is there a certain undercurrent of the anti-German reaction but the historical setting of the problem is hardly fair. Hobbes's Leviathan is not mentioned, nor is there any discussion of the Austinian theory of Sovereignty; Rousseau is indeed referred to a few times, but one would hardly gather that he was the original exponent of "the general will."

As against Dr. Bosanquet the author makes a very strong case, at times expressed more forcibly than politely. How far some of the detailed charges can be supported is not quite clear, especially to a reader of Dr. Bosanquet's latest volume on *Social and International Ideals*. And when on p. 17 Dr. Hobhouse makes the plump charge that Dr. Bosanquet fancies "that the ideal is realised in the actual world, and in particular in the world of organized society," well, some qualification would be desirable in accusing a distinguished scholar of confusing *Begriff* and *Idee*. We have one further criticism to make: Why should this particular theory be dubbed "*the* metaphysical theory of the State"? On p. 14 "the philosophical inquiry" is defined as "that which deals with the aim of life, with the standard of conduct, with all that ought to be, no matter whether it is or not." This seems to reduce political philosophy to idealism or utopianism. Fortunately, Dr. Hobhouse's own metaphysical theory of the State—no doubt he would prefer to call it empirical—is based not only on ethics but on the fundamental psychological and physical facts of human nature.

These few reservations are in no wise meant to detract from the value of the work. The criticisms are crisp and common-sense and never lose themselves in academic pedantry. Prof. Hobhouse writes not with the frigid aloofness of a thesis-maker, but with a living

faith in human personalty, in freedom, in democracy. Though not a systematic treatise, his book covers a wide region of social philosophy : the superpersonality of the State, the nature of a corporate entity, the general or real will, the limitations of the State. With almost all of these criticisms the Catholic philosopher will be in cordial agreement. Professor Hobhouse's interesting book is one of the many indications of a return to the Catholic theory of the State. As a powerful indictment of the modern version of Divine Right his work is timely and helpful.

(2.) The latest addition to the " Library of Philosophy " is a volume on " Social Purpose " by Profs. Hetherington and Muirhead. It appears to be an attempt to bring the idealist theory of the State —regarded as the embodiment of the general will—into harmony with current conceptions of democracy and social psychology. This harmony is chiefly achieved by making desirable concessions to the rights of the individual—thus the present writers and Dr. Bosanquet are quite friendly to conscientious objectors. The authors think that " the way of escape from the dilemma of a mystical supra-social person and the denial of a corporate consciousness is through a truer psychology of the will." It is not at all easy to grasp what this psychology is ; it seems to be chiefly the rather obvious fact that instincts and emotions are social factors. The real interest of the book, however, is its significance as an idealist admission of the rights of the family and the individual ; ample room is found even for regionalism, trade unions, and international morality.

While there are many interesting and suggestive discussions of various social topics, the book as a whole leaves a very blurred impression on the reader's mind. At the end there does not seem to be really much left of what has hitherto been regarded as the idealist theory of the State. There has been so much flirtation with crowd-psychology, so much dabbling in social problems, that it is very hard to see the philosophical theory which is supposed to unify these lectures. The work halts between pure theory and practical politics. The treatment of the principle of nationality is typical. This is the conclusion : " As every right within the State has to be justified by its efficacy for the welfare of the whole, so every claim to national existence must be vindicated by reference to the whole community of mankind." This is neither theory nor practice, it is platitude. There is just one passage which we are surprised to find in a book of this character, that is Prof. Muirhead's sneer (p. 158) at the " sacraments " of marriage and baptism.

A. J. R.

Poetry and Drama.

CITY SONGS AND OTHERS. By Richard Rowley. Dublin: Maunsel. 1918. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

THESE poems bring us into an unusual atmosphere. It is at once the air of a city and the air of high poetry. If this is strange, it may appear more so when we know what the city in question is. Belfast is Mr. Rowley's Parnassus. Yet, after all, why should not the identification be accomplished—given genius? What will it be but the latest of the successful raids of the poetic spirit on the time-spirit—of the transforming energy of art, which, analogously to the Divine Spirit, finds nothing so common or so unlovely but that it can transmute it into something precious and immortally beautiful?

The poet's eye, somewhat like the saint's, is privileged to reach the best and truest truths of earth by "both what it sees and what it half creates." Mr. Rowley understands this, and says it in his own way—a very excellent way. Thus, after recording a vision of his city as seen transfigured by a beautiful dawn, he continues :—

> Yet this, perchance, the Real is. The soul
> That haunts the city's body, spirit shy,
> In the mysterious hour from hiding stole,
> And Truth gleamed naked to the worshipping eye.
>
> Yea, and for eyes that see, she all day long,
> Splendid as morning, walks the sounding street;
> Her voice, for those who hear, makes a proud song,
> Constant above the traffic's trampling feet.
>
> Not in the seen, but in the seeing lies
> The beauty we inherit. All around
> Its wonder shines for love-awakened eyes,
> And stony pavements are a holy ground.

In lines "To a Poet" the same doctrine is taught :—

> Dreaming in your ivory tower,
> Far remote from real day,
> How your magic loses power!
> Come away, then, come away;
> Leave the vision-haunted gloom,
> Leave dream-countries lorn and lone,
> Leave the woods of faery bloom,
> Whence a sickly wind is blown . . . .
> Where men live and love and die,
> There is room enough to sing
> 'Twixt the crowded street and sky,
> Room for flight of strongest wing;
> No song's pinions ever can
> Quite out-soar the heart of man.

With this sense of the work he has to do the poet goes forth into his city ; sees with the eyes of the body its lanes and quays, factories, trams, mud and smoke, its men, women and children—clerks, navvies, peddlers, ironers, stitchers ; sees also with inward eyes the strivings, hopes and ideals, the spiritual victories that redeem grossness, narrowness, and failure, and so writes his poems of human life in its completeness.

Whoever does this is the true poet of the people, of democracy. The undisciplined naturalist, such as Walt Whitman, entirely misses the great rôle. Whitman, all in sensile impressions and the unthinking passion they stir in him, dances fascinated, like a child at a fair, before a world most superficially understood, and shouts greetings at its more obvious phenomena. That is barbarism. We find traces of it in some more cultured recent poets, such as Mr. Kipling and Mr. Masefield. But the great poets have in their vision the gifts of prudence and wisdom, and with these they rightly interpret man as man—the humblest-seeming as well as the king, spirit and matter. The lower kind of knowledge which springs from familiar intercourse and keen accurate observation is transfigured by sympathy and love, by the better knowledge which penetrates the varieties of garb and circumstance and arrives at the essential human-divine. So are "sciolists shent," so is snobbery, whether contemptuous or patronizing, quite transcended.

A genuine poet of the people Mr. Rowley is, and nothing but a certain slenderness in his output makes us hesitate in calling him a great poet. His ideals and outlook may not be wholly ours, but their elevation and dignity are unmistakable. In technique he has nothing to learn, though he may gain greater mastery of his instrument. One must turn to Francis Thompson to find (among moderns) a monologue on life, beauty and mortality so impressive as "The Unsleeping Soul." The short lyric, "Ideal Love," recalls at once something of Mrs. Meynell's delicacy and something of the best Elizabethans. The sketches which reproduce the local tongue of Belfast are on a humbler level, and the success (to our thinking) is also less striking. In the dramatic sketch, however, called *Knocking at the Door*—as the title might suggest, Maeterlinck's *L'Intruse* has been for something in the inspiration—the poet rises in his dialectic medium to considerable poignancy and beauty. The volume as a whole is one not to be missed by any one in quest of the best poetry recently produced in Ireland.

G. O'N.

THE LOST LEADER. By Lennox Robinson. Dublin: Kiersey. 1918. 4*s.* 6*d.*

In the Abbey Theatre, although the same atmosphere permeates most of the best pieces, the outstanding figures are remarkably individual; Colum, Murray, Synge, Robinson have much in common —but no critic could mistake the work of one for another. Robinson's *Lost Leader* is a very daring example of good Abbey Theatre work, for one of the characters—the Lost Leader, in fact—is Parnell. We take it that the author means that Lucius *is* Parnell, though on the question the audience is left in the dark. Suspense is a legitimate dramatic device; whether it can be carried this far in a play that aims at being a one-day classic is another thing. At any rate the *Lost Leader* got a splendid reception when it chanced the footlights.

The author asks his readers to regard his characters as inidviduals, not as types. This is the only extenuation of the U.I.L. man, Clancy. All the author's own sympathy, it seems to us, goes to the egotist, Parnell, the Unionist Major White, and the indifferentist, Mary Lenihan.

Read through politically hued glasses, the play, therefore, has not the large charity of Molière or Brieux. And unfortunately all Irish glasses must have the political tint. Still, if you look on the play as a play alone, if you read it as an American or French play, it is completely convincing. Its construction is skilful, the dénouement being worked up to a fine bit of intensely dramatic pathos.

We heartily congratulate the author on the tasteful work of his publisher. P. McB.

Politics.

DEMOCRACY AT THE CROSSWAYS. A Study in Politics and History, with special reference to Great Britain. By F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D., Professor of History, King's College, London, University of London. London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd. 1918. Pp. xv., 511. 15*s.* net.

Professor Hearnshaw has long been known as an able writer of the scholarly text-book on History: in this volume he follows up an earlier volume of the more elaborate and original type, which dealt with the "Main Currents of European History, 1815-1915." Of independence of view, vigorous and even vehement argument based on varied reading, and the stamp of ardent political and social opinions, the present work bears ample evidence. Yet one may doubt if the writer will not have cause in after time to regard this

treatment of Contemporary Democracy as an indiscretion. It is not history: it is a polemic pamphlet of inordinate length and picturesque partisanship.

The author, in a preface written in a period of comparative calm, provides "reviewers and other busy people" with a summary of his "main positive conclusions," set down in six points. The present reviewer read these points carefully, and then read the book in a spirit of combative appreciation. His first concern was as to the historical basis of the striking theses advanced by Professor Hearnshaw. The "history" is almost altogether contemporary, and is not of a kind to inspire confidence. Take these two pronouncements: (1) On the United States Constitution: "there is a separation of powers—legislative, executive, and judicial—each of the three depending directly upon popular appointment, and each remaining immediately subject to democratic control" (p.20); (2) on home affairs: "the outbreak of the Great War in August, 1914, found this country—thanks mainly to the activities of the two intransigeant groups, the "Labour Party" and the Irish Nationalists, and in particular to the effective operation of the Trades Disputes Act which their united pressure had forced upon an unfaithful legislature—on the verge of a revolutionary civil upheaval" (p. 191). These utterances are typical of the whole; and they are full of obvious misstatements, suppressions and downright errors. The question of Irish affairs we may at once dismiss: the writer is full of prejudice, and by being unfaithful to his main doctrine as to democratic government and majority rule, he provides a special solution of his own for the "Ulster" problem (p. 407, note) —a solution certain to be rejected by "Ulster."

As spectators we may find an interest ever fresh in Professor Hearnshaw's views on contemporary social and political forces in England. Nonconformists are classed as essentially Anarchists (p. 274 and p. 273). The State "itself is a moral being whose prime concern is justice" (p. 351); but there is no remedy—outside philosophic platitudes—for the "tyranny of majorities" (p. 334), which the author regards as normal and inevitable: minorities must "submit or depart." Majorities must rule, and that on a two-party system: the "group system is the Devil's own device for the destruction of democracy" (p. 410); "proportional representation is decisively rejected." All the time Democracy is treated to a constant rehearsal of its vices, follies and incapacity; Professor Hearnshaw draws frequent inspiration from Sir Henry Maine, Mr. Ellis Barker (Eltzbacher), Carlyle, and Robert Lowe, not to mention Faguet; while he refers with evident sympathy to the views on democracy

of the Bismarckian historians of Germany. A capital instance of this undemocratic treatment of democracy is to be found in the discordant pronouncements on, and citations of, Cromwell as a force in English politics (pp. 133, 276, 118). The way of a government with a people should be democratic: So we are told in the preface, and constantly re-told ; but the democratic spirit is hard to find in the author's utterances. The right form of government is that of a schoolmaster with a class of children (p. 375) : Signora Montessori and Mr. Edmond Holmes are described as " educational Bolshevists." It is, therefore, no surprise to read that " destruction is, indeed, a work for which democracy is well fitted. No easier or more congenial task can present itself to an aspiring multitude than to form itself into a mob and attack something or other " (p. 109). Professor Hearnshaw does not conceive of Democracy as " at the cross-roads," though such is his title. On the contrary, Democracy has, in his real judgment, gone far beyond the crossways—and has gone utterly wrong.

This real judgment is strikingly manifest in the whole treatment of labour movements, in England, Wales, Scotland, Ireland—and abroad. These topics are everywhere present in the book, and everywhere are the subject of unsparing criticism and denunciatory epithets. The adjective pervades Professor Hearnshaw's book, and renders it of little service to the student of affairs and the historical scholar. Perhaps the best excuse for it is found in his own words (p. 493), that it " is emphatically a book of 1918."

T. C.

RUSSIAN PROBLEMS AND REALITIES. London : Cambridge University Press. 5*s*. net.

This volume consists of a number of lectures by different authors, dealing with various aspects of the Russian political problem, delivered at Cambridge in August, 1916. They were naturally more " actual " at the time of their delivery, when Nicholas II. was still Czar, than they can claim to be at the present day. The rapidly changing situation in Russia and Europe renders somewhat out of date such solutions as the authors barely adumbrate or hint at. Yet as they convey a certain amount of information about Russian politics and Russian thought, and as the fate of Russia continues to be one of the principal problems of modern politics, they may still be recommended to the reader in search of information on these matters.

M. Milyoukov, whose name the events of the last two years have made familiar to us, deals with the relation of the War and Balkan Politics. On the whole he gives a reasonable and instructive *aperçu* of some of the more important factors operative in this sphere. Especially interesting is his short sketch of the momentous change in the orientation of Russian foreign policy away from Austria and towards England which began about 1907 or 1908. Though the story of Balkan affairs is naturally told from the Russian point of view, it cannot be accused of too great partiality, and the author is quite alive to the grave and disastrous mistakes made by diplomatists in imposing settlements which ignore the national claims.

The second lecture, also from the mouth of M. Milyoukov, deals with the history of the four Dumas from the granting of the Constitution in 1905 onwards. The reader will probably find it on the whole depressing, as it sketches not so much the history of Russian self-government as of the chicanery and expedients resorted to by tyranny in order whilst preserving the forms to withhold the reality of freedom. What he will possibly be still more disappointed at is that by the author, the leader of one of the most important of the progressive parties in the Duma, no hint is given of what political solution he desired. The lecturer quotes in his last paragraph the words of Lord Robert Cecil—referring to pre-revolutionary Russia—"It may be truly said that freedom is as much admired in Russia as in England."

The most interesting lectures are probably two by M. Struve on the "Past and Present of Russian Economics." He points out the colonizing character of Russian economic development, and insists that in the great advance of Russian southwards to the Black Sea the husbandman played an even more important part than the soldier. He illustrates both the economic strength of Russia and the economic weakness of the Russian.

M. Dmowski gives—in the narrow space at his disposal—a fairly satisfactory sketch of the fate of Poland, and of the marvellous survival of her national spirit in the teeth of most bitter persecution at the hands of Germany and Russia. The characteristic that marks it most clearly off from most sketches of the kind is his portrayal of the different qualities developed by the Poles in the three Empires to which they had been assigned. He shows the great interest that Germany had in opposing the advance of Polish national sentiment as making for a United Poland. He is rather too lenient on Russian conduct and at times verges on the paradoxical. This is perhaps not unnatural in one who looked for a solution of the great problem within the Russian Empire. That in

this he was out of touch with his compatriots may explain the very nebulous character of any positive constructive views the lectures contain.

Mr. Harold Williams is described in the Preface as "an Englishman who . . . is considered by Russian scholars to have no rival, even among natives, in . . . the ethnography of the Russian Empire." It was with heightened feelings, therefore, that I turned to his lectures on "The Nationalities of Russia." But nothing more vague could be well conceived than the treatment he gives of this important question. The reader has the feeling that the author is conscious of being on dangerous ground and does not wish to commit himself. The information given is not definite, and the nearest approach to a suggested solution is "that the problem is very difficult." There is also a tendency to "poetic" writing, which is singularly out of place. Both this author and M. Dmowski deal with the Jewish problem.

More space is given to M. Lappo-Danilevsky on "The development of Science and Learning in Russia" than to any of the other lecturers. The display of Russian contributions to every branch of Science and Thought is imposing, but the whole thing is too much in the nature of a mere catalogue. The following is a pretty fair sample of the mode of procedure: "The development of ideas was, for instance, elucidated by Bolotov and Glupokovsky in critical works on early Christianity, by Novitsky and Prince Trubetskoi in dissertations on the history of ancient philosophy; by Bobynin and Bubnov, Stolyetov and Vernadsky in researches on mediaeval and modern science, etc., etc., . . ." ten names being mentioned in the next eight lines before we reach the end of the sentence.

J. M. O'S.

I.—*THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND ITS PROBLEMS.* By L. Oppenheim, M.A., LL.D. Longmans. 1919. 6*s.* net.

II.—*LA SOCIETE DES NATIONS.* By Yves de la Brière. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne. 1918. 3 fr. 60.

Prof. Oppenheim's book consists of three Lectures delivered before the surrender of Germany, and dealing with a number of practical problems connected with the establishment of a League of Nations. It contains most valuable suggestions for the setting up of the various tribunals of the League, suggestions which have obviously been utilised by the statesmen of the Peace Conference in the preparation of the recent draft covenant.

The first Lecture deals with the development of the League idea, shows that the League is the logical outcome of the Hague Peace Conference, and gives a general outline of the form the League must take if it is to leave the sovereignty of the nations unimpaired. The second lecture treats of the organisation of the League as a legislature, discusses the important question of the voting power of the different classes of states, considers difficulties arising as to the interpretation of international agreements, and finally quotes the correspondence with the Foreign Office respecting the interpretation of Art. 23 (*h*) of the Hague negotiations concerning Land Warfare. The third Lecture, which most people will consider the most interesting and valuable of the series, deals with Mediation and Justice. Prof. Oppenheim recommends the institution of a Council of Conciliation, a function which in the draft covenant now published is handed over to the Executive Council, and makes practical suggestions as to its composition. The Court of Justice or of Arbitration is dealt with at some length, and the question of its composition is fully treated. There can be no doubt that the Executive Council at Versailles, when it comes to devise plans for the Court of Arbitration, cannot fail to take serious account of the recommendations made by Prof. Oppenheim in Sections II. to IX. of this third Lecture.

The work is clearly written, and is most orderly and scholarly throughout. It should be read by all students of International Law, and indeed by everybody interested in the work of the present Peace Conference and the future League of Nations.

II.—THE very able work of M. de la Brière is mainly historical in character, but it also contains some interesting discussions on the rights and duties of the nations, and on the practicability of certain proposed features of the League. In the first chapter are considered the views of a number of prominent statesmen in regard to the functions of the future League, coupled with a strong adverse criticism of the League programme which was outlined by the Freemasons of France and other countries at a special meeting of the Grand Orient, in Paris, July, 1917.

Chapters II. to VI. are expositions of a number of what the author speaks of as "des antécédents historiques qui sont (ou peuvent être) invoqués à propos de la constitution future de la Société des Nations." There are interesting discussions on mediaeval Christianity and the work of the Popes for peace, the "Grand Dessein" of Henry IV., the Treaty of Westphalia and the doctrine of the balance of power, the Congress of Vienna, and,

lastly, the European Concert since 1830. Chapter VII. gives a scholarly treatment of international laws and their sanctions, and discusses the provisions of the Hague Conference programme in favour of peace. Chapter VIII. is a trenchant criticism of the Utopias that have been suggested in the course of the peace movement and especially of the Masonic view that the League should be of the nature of a super-state, exercising sovereignty over all existing powers. In the final chapter the claims of the Holy See to a place in the League are forcibly advocated.

The book is exceedingly interesting and instructive, and will repay reading, particularly in the case of students of History and of International Law. M. C.

Social Science.

THE ABOLITION OF INHERITANCE. By Harland Eugene Read. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1918. $1.50.

THE principles on which the rights to property in its transition from the dead to the living are to be determined offer a large field for controversy. Is the right of bequest, the right of a living man to decide what shall become of his wealth when he himself can no longer hold a title to it, to be recognised as naturally involved in the notion of ownership? Does the fact that he designates a certain individual as his heir constitute in the latter an indefeasible natural title to the possession of the wealth bequeathed? Further, in case of intestacy, does the fact that a person is a son, daughter or other direct descendant of the deceased establish in them a natural claim to his property? This last question becomes more involved if the heir is not a direct descendant, but stands in a collateral line, many removes, it may be, from the previous owner of the estate.

And if we dispute the title of any or all of these claimants, to whom shall we assign the rightful title to the we lth in question? To the community? But to what community? If the property be an investment in a foreign country and has thence yielded an income to its owner, shall it pass to the community of which he was a citizen, or to that in which it was maintained in being and by whose labour it fructified?

The legislative systems of civilised nations give practical solutions to these questions on lines which, differing in details, are broadly the same in character. They recognise the power of bequest and the right of inheritance, subject to varying limitations; and they sanction as legally valid the acquisition of the property by

the heir or legatee. Incidentally the several governments take toll, sometimes light, sometimes heavy, on the estates of the dead as they pass to their new owners.

Jurists such as Blackstone, however, regard this legal sanction of bequest and inheritance, not as an interpretation of natural right but as a "civil convenience calculated for the peace of mankind." The power to bequeath is, they maintain, not founded on the nature of man's relation to the goods possessed in his life time. "Naturally speaking, the instant a man ceases to be, he ceases to have any dominion: also if he had a right to dispose of his acquisitions one moment beyond his life, he would also have a right to direct their disposal for a million of ages after him, which would be highly absurd and inconvenient." As for inheritance, it is a "civil convenience" which "we are apt to consider has nature on its side; yet we often mistake for nature what we find established by long and inveterate custom." It is, however, "clearly a political establishment."

Mr. Read, after quoting these extracts from Blackstone, advances considerably beyond the position occupied by that distinguished authority. Not only does he deny all basis of natural right to bequest and inheritance, but he insists that both are contrary to the principles of natural justice. Social conditions to-day differ fundamentally from those of Blackstone's time, and, in consequence, these privileges have ceased to be a "civil convenience." The excuse for tolerating them being removed, they should now be dealt with as that which they are in reality—a trespass on the rights of community. According to Mr. Read, wealth accumulated by an individual who is member of a civil community and who in accumulating it utilises the resources which the community puts at his disposal is one of two partners. On the death of one of the partners—the individual—the wealth created by the joint contributors to its production belongs of right to the other—the community.

The assumption underlying this sweeping theory is that the only title to the ownership of any object is the human effort employed in producing it. This principle is categorically laid down by Mr. Read: "There is only one basis of a natural right of property. That basis is the creation of the property in question" (p. 64). This does not mean that property in external goods is established by some act of appropriation. Such a statement would be equivalent to saying: property is created by an act which creates it—a tautology that it would be childish to enunciate. What apparently Mr. Read means to state in all seriousness is that property in an external

object is rightfully established by the act which creates the object in question, and in no other way. That this is the meaning intended seems obvious from Mr. Read's lengthy reasoning to prove that labour has a right of property in the objects it creates—a totally different proposition, and one which, if demonstrated, would leave the wider conclusion at which he arrives still unproved. The proposition : " all labour creates a title of ownership in the things produced," and the other : " all titles to ownership in things produced are created by labour," are not logical equivalents. By no legitimate device of argument can the one be translated into the other. At the outset of his work Mr. Read adjures the readers whom he proposes to instruct to think courageously. He has himself set them a stimulating example of courage in thinking ; had he given them equal help in clear thinking his book would be much more valuable.

The proposition we have quoted above is the foundation on which Mr. Read's whole scheme of argument rests. And that proposition is not only unproved but is demonstrably erroneous. It is not true that " the only one basis of a natural right to property is the creation of the property in question." All property had its beginning in an appropriation of nature's gifts. Some of these were offered ready for immediate consumption, others in the condition of raw material which labour should prepare for use. But whether fitted for the immediate satisfaction of human needs or material which man could adapt to his requirements, they were in neither case the creation of the individual who appropriated them. Mr. Read seems to have foreseen this objection to his theory, and he forestalls it in this fashion : " Even the fruits of trees, the berries upon the ground and the water in the spring are not of life-giving value until the effort of man has been put forth to bring them from where nature placed them, to the hand or mouth of the person to whose need they minister." This again is a case of loose thinking. " Life-giving value " is a relation of certain objects to the vital processes of the human body ; that relation exists in virtue of the intrinsic qualities of the objects, whether the objects are utilised by man or not. An apple on the tree is just as sweet or as nutritious as it is in the hand. It does not acquire either quality by being plucked. Adopting Mr. Read's line of reasoning, I should be bound to maintain that a lost shilling which I come upon accidentally in the street does not acquire purchasing power till I put it in my pocket. Further, Mr. Read errs in thinking that it is because labour, however slight, is bestowed upon the fruit or the berries that they become the possession of the person who gathers them. It is not

because effort is expended on the *res nullius* that property in it is acquired. It is because in effort, or apart from it, the intention of making it one's own is made manifest. Had the individual in the case before us taken a world of trouble in knocking the fruit from the tree, and, having accomplished the feat, left it lying on the ground and proceeded on his way, it would not have become his property and might be appropriated by the next comer.

Again, by accepting a gift from another I become by natural right owner of the thing bestowed. But my acceptance of it does not create the object transferred. What, then, becomes of the assertion that "the one basis of a natural right to property is the creation of the property in question"?

We need not pursue further our criticism of Mr. Read's fundamental proposition. He has utterly failed to prove that the natural claim to property in material goods rests wholly on the labour applied in creating. He has not even proved that labour employed in the production of material goods establishes in the labourer a right of ownership in the goods produced. No argument which he has adduced would demonstrate that if I give a piece of cloth to a tailor to make me a suit of clothes, the clothes when finished are, as a matter of natural right, the property of the tailor.

On the very insecure foundation thus laid Mr. Read builds up his case against inheritance. The heir has not created by his own efforts the property passing to him; he has, therefore, no natural claim to it, even when it is devised to him by will. It belongs of right to the community, and should be used to give the children of parents who have no fortune to transmit a start in life, so that there may be established in the world what Mr. Read picturesquely denominates "cradle equality." The transmission by inheritance of accumulated wealth accounts in large part for the gross inequalities of fortune and fortune's favours which prevail in modern society, and for the privations and demoralisation which poverty entails. As Mr. Read puts it, inherited wealth makes inherited poverty. He draws moving pictures of the lot of those who toil without adequate reward, as contrasted with the condition of those who live without effort of their own on the wealth created by the labour of others. There is dismal truth in much that he writes on the evils of a perverted capitalism. But the evils are due, not to the fact that capital is inherited, but to the fact that its power is abused. It makes little difference to the victim of tyranny or injustice whether the power which crushes him has been built up by the individual who wields it, or by his predecessor in title. The use of the power is what matters.

We are willing to admit that large accumulations of wealth, whether in the hands of those who create or those who inherit them, involve responsibilities to the community which the State might justifiably enforce. But to enforce the social duties which attach to the power of wealth is one thing, to deny the right to possess it is quite another. T. A. F.

THE WORLD PROBLEM: Capital, Labour and the Church. By Joseph Husslein, S.J. New York: Kenedy. 1918. $1.25.

I HAVE no doubt that this well-written book serves some very useful purposes. It will at least provide congenial occupation for leisured persons who wish to believe that they are seriously endeavouring to understand the present industrial crisis. It directs attention to a host of abuses and injustices. By showing that something and a good deal is wrong with society, it will stimulate interest, and will (we trust) create a desire for more light on fundamental problems than can be found in its own pages. It must prove fortifying also, inasmuch as it shows, what is perfectly true, that the Church's influence in the spirit as well as in the letter has ever been for healthy and equitable social conditions.

With all this no one can reasonably find fault. Even on such elementary matters there is much widespread ignorance. It is well to be reminded in such well-chosen language that there is a moral law behind even our present non-moral system of economics, and that practical religion can still influence our social life. In this respect Fr. Husslein's book forms a valuable addition to the innumerable volumes and magazine articles which a tireless press is continually turning out in connection with isolated manifestations of a diseased social condition.

I am inclined to find fault with the book, not for what it contains, but for what it does not contain. This may appear an unfair method of criticism, and would be such if in the book itself and its notices we were not encouraged to look to it for a serious study of the fundamental problems of our present disquieting social and economic conditions. Not the slightest attempt is anywhere made to justify these anticipations. Numerous and widely diverse problems are raised, but never pursued beyond the point at which they begin to be interesting, and therefore to call for more careful examination, and after which we might expect to see them shading into one another and pointing the way to principles that might help to illuminate and solve the general problem. It does not even

venture on a genuine investigation of the Church's teaching on the questions raised, such as interest, prices, wages, etc.

It is quite true that, if the Church's voice were supreme in the world, there would be no necessity to trouble much about the precise form of economic organisation. Whatever that form might be, the Church's moral teaching would secure that advantage would not be taken of it to oppress any section of the people or to impose on them conditions inconsistent with their human nature and destiny. Greed and oppression would be restrained as moral vices; a universal spirit of Christian brotherhood would prevail. But never, even in the most Christian age or land, has such a consummation been known. Christian teaching and Christian influences help to curb the vicious tendencies of our nature, but these tendencies remain, and it will never be safe to reckon without them as long as man retains the taint of his original fall. All this merely means that we cannot acquiesce in an illogical, ill-balanced, economic organisation, and then trust to moral and religious influences to save us from the natural consequences in the form of social hardships, instability and unrest. We cannot, for instance, favour conditions which look like a direct invitation to the sweater and profiteer, and then expect to prevent sweating and profiteering by moral instruction on just wages and equitable interest. We are witnessing these consequences to-day. The Church can and does do much to mitigate them. But the remedy to be really effective must be radical in the sense that it must get back and readjust economic conditions. In other words, we must have reconstruction, not merely as a vague promise but as a definite tangible reality. What reconstruction requires is a large problem, which calls for the fullest and most sincere thinking possible amongst us.

I do not pretend that reconstruction, no matter how radical or complete, can ever prove a panacea for social ills. Moral and religious influences will ever continue to count for more. But moral and religious influences are not sufficient of themselves, and they cannot be expected to produce their best results without a fairly reasonable and equitable economic framework. It is unnecessary to remark that I am speaking here altogether of the temporal—social—influence of religion and morality.

It is scarcely to the interest of religion to be perpetually referring to the Catholic solution when, in fact, there is properly no Catholic solution at all. The Catholic Church has never put forward any complete economic system, for the obvious reason that such would be altogether without the sphere of her supernatural mission. That is the proper function of men themselves organised for the purpose

of social intercourse. She accepts the various social and economic conditions which she finds prevailing in the different parts of the world through which she is sent to preach and uphold the Gospel, only at all times insisting on the moral law as applicable to the existing conditions, and protesting whenever the conditions themselves are in opposition to the general fundamental principles of morality. It would indeed be possible to construct a complete, self-consistent economic system under the guidance of such manifold pronouncements, taken in conjunction with her teaching about the nature and essential rights of man. Such a work by a capable Catholic scholar would be one of the most valuable boons which could be offered to humanity at the present moment.

J. K.

Studies in Science and Religion.

ESSAYS IN SCIENTIFIC SYNTHESIS. By Eugenio Rignano. Translated by J. W. Greenstreet. London: Allen and Unwin. 1918. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

With the main thesis of this book and the matter of the first essay all will agree; for therein is put forward the view that the theorist who has never specialised in any branch of science may yet render great service to science in general by synthesising the results obtained by specialists. There is always a danger that such a synthesist may go wrong without the healthful discipline of actual personal research; but on the other hand there is always the possibility that he may take a wider view of problems than the man whose life is spent in contemplating one little corner of the field of science.

The greater part of this book is occupied with a further development of the "Centro-epigenetic theory" advanced by the same author some years ago in a work with which all students of biological literature will be familiar. According to this theory, whilst neither preformation nor epigenesis can explain the facts of development, they may be explained by the continuous action exercised by the germinal substance occupying a central zone of the developing embryo during the process of development. The action irradiates from this zone and controls the direction which development is to take. The controlling power in its last analysis is mnemic, and at this point we approach the real heart of the theory. The "mnemic property . . . [is] raised to the rôle of a fundamental property of life" (p. 21). In fact "all vital

phenomena are also mnemic in nature" (p. 52). Memory is, in the author's opinion, "the general and fundamental function of all living matter" (p. 70). The genesis of all affective tendencies is mnemic, and when we recognise this we see how to get rid of the "subjective illusion of 'free will'" (p. 186).

In all this there is a certain substratum with which many will agree. Except that it limits the influence of the cell-contents to that portion which is to be or is germinal substance, the theory will not present difficulties to those who have long looked upon the nucleus as the centre and director of the activities of the cell. And as to the mnemic theory there is no doubt that since its first enunciation by Hering, or perhaps one should more properly say by Samuel Butler, that theory has received and is receiving much attention. The "particulate" idea having in the opinion of most persons broken down, and the chemical alternative, strongly urged by some, having so far failed to meet with anything like general recognition, the field is open for any further suggestion for which any kind of proof can be brought forward.

Rignano's utterances on the subject, however, very forcibly remind us of that very pregnant remark made by Ward that many explanations are excellent and satisfactory, once one has got within the system, but that one has to get there by way of a commencement. Whether we explain memory on materialistic or non-materialistic lines, we have first of all to account for it in some fashion or another. How did such a faculty become implanted in the organism? "It is a function of matter," as Butler would say—as he does say:—"There is only one substance and . . . the characteristics of the vibrations going on within it at any time will determine whether it will appear to us as, we will say, hydrogen, or sodium, or chicken doing this, or chicken doing the other" (Preface to *Life and Habit*). In a word, it is Haeckel's famous "Law of Substance," with which so far no physicist of mark will have anything to do. Even if it were true, we should still have to account for the vibrations and their power of causing the effects which they are said to produce.

Let us waive that point and turn to an incontrovertible fact, which is that memory must have something to remember. Bearing this in mind let us for a moment contemplate the position of the postulated original protozoon from which all living things have sprung. What had it to remember? Nothing but the obscure pangs which we may suppose accompanied the change from non-living to living matter, or, if we are to believe that there is no difference but one of degree between these, then the memory of the first

manifestations of the higher degree. It is not easy to see how this is going to help the protozoon in its forward progress. It will hardly be urged that it knew what it was going to do next, and, if it did, that was imagination, not memory. In other words a memory can only exist when there is something to remember, and there can only be such a memory after an experience. It may not be impossible that existing embryos climb upwards by an unconscious memory of previous stages of evolution, in fact it is thus that some explain the once highly valued Recapitulation Theory. But this cannot have directed forward progress. Hence even if the mnemic theory is true, and it may be, it is only a partial explanation—Causa Inadequata Minor ; nothing more.

We have devoted so much attention to this part of the book, and indeed it is by far the most important part, that we have left but little space for dealing with the concluding essays which treat of Religion, Historic Materialism and Socialism—the latter two mainly concerned with a criticism of Marxian theories. As to religion there is not much that is new and still less that is true. Religion is gradually dying out. No doubt it comes to the front in times of stress, which is why war seems to re-awaken the dying flame. It is also particularly in evidence in countries where earthquakes are prevalent, and Breton piety is due to the constant perils of the fisherman's life. But as wars get fewer—for the author thinks that they will—the need for religion will disappear, though it will always linger amongst the " mystical élite " who will " keep alight within its heart, and transmit to ages to come from one generation to another, the sacred torch of religion, as long as human life shall endure." There is nothing very new about this philosophy nor does it need refutation in the pages of this Review. We should not like to conclude this brief notice without adding the opinion that biologists and philosophers will find a great deal to interest them in these pages from the pen of the Editor of *Scientia*. A word of commendation for the labour of the translator must not be omitted. B. C. A. W.

THE QUEST OF THE FACE. By Stephen Graham London : Macmillan. 1918. 7*s*. 6*d*. net.

Mr. Stephen Graham has a powerful imagination and a vivid style ; these qualities enable him to write sketches which may well win a success equal to that commonly caught by the effective short story. They are also valuable helps towards the propaganda of his ideas —ideas which otherwise might hardly commend themselves by

their solidity or attract by their novelty. These ideas would seem to be the primary concern of the writer. His "Quest of the Face"—namely, the Face of Christ—is an attempt to disengage and set forth certain views as to how the world may be regenerated. He occupies the pulpit of Tolstoy—which is not to say that he gives to us a message identical with that of the formidable Russian idealist. He is more poetical and mild: his theories and pictures have, indeed, a Rousseauish mildness, and, as they are also unpractical and "mystical," will not easily alarm the average reader as dangerous to Christianity or society.

The "Face of Christ" is to be found (so our author dreams) in the various faces, more or less disappointing taken singly, that one may observe in a crowd—in the ordinary herd of men and women as they go past us. In a more spiritual sense, it is to be found in the various efforts of men to formulate religions. Truth is to be found in the amalgam of human guesses and errors, or (perhaps) to be read out of them by some not-explained organ of interpretation. This idea is far from new. It is older than a certain fad with which it may (not, we hope, too disrespectfully) be compared—that, namely, for producing a composite photograph—for throwing on a sensitized plate a succession of human faces and then blurring out their distinctive lines till there becomes visible at length a feeble monstrosity having no claim to either truth or beauty or life. But Mr. Graham does not fail in poetical arguments and pictures tending to justify his parable. In many ways he tries to show us that, because humanity, with its needs and its desires, is manifold, therefore Christ must be manifold. It might be more profound to argue from the same premises to the opposite conclusion—to the human need for a divine unity. Thomas a Kempis has touched on this matter, we think, very wisely. "To whom all things are one, and who draws all things to one and sees all things in one, he may possess his heart in peace and remain tranquil in God." That seems an expression of genuine mysticism. And a Kempis has written just previously: "He to whom the eternal Word speaks is delivered from many opinions: without that word no one understands or judges rightly." A Kempis is an author whom we would strongly commend to Mr. Graham when next he finds time to devote himself to mystical studies. The advice may, we fear, seem an impertinence in the case of a writer who takes up the role of a new Christian evangelist and reformer. But it is a fact—deeply to be regretted—that Mr. Graham nowhere in his books, as far as we can remember, shows either deep or wide acquaintance with the great writers and teachings of Catholic Christianity. Were he to make a serious

effort to assimilate the ideas of the Augustines and Thomases, and of the ascetics, mystics, and apostolic labourers of the same spiritual filiation, he would, we strongly believe, not find it necessary to construct a new Christianity with the help of Tolstoy, benevolent Turks, and Madame Montessori. G. O'N.

SPIRITUALISM AND THE CHRISTIAN FAITH. By Rev. E. W. Barnes, Sc.D., F.R.S. London: Longmans. 1918. 2*s.* net.

We have had a flood of books on the subject of Spiritualism, sane books by believers in it like *The Threshold of Another World*, ignorant rhapsodies like *The New Revelation*, rather vulgar and very prejudiced counterblasts like *If a Man Die, shall He Live Again?*; and now it is a real pleasure to review a serious criticism of the spiritualistic position by one who is both a scholar and a gentleman. Not that we fully agree with either his theological or his general conclusions; but we recognise that the book is written by one who has carefully studied his subject and bestowed real thought upon it. The learned Master of the Temple begins by discussing the question of the existence of the soul of man; of its immortality; of the vesture it will wear when it escapes from the prison of the body: all considerations exceedingly germane to the subject in question, yet as a rule completely neglected by those who set out to deal with it.

We pass over the argument for immortality, which is admirably stated but presents no novel features, and pass to other points. We summarise without criticism to save space. The soul will not be associated with any kind of matter in the future life. If this be true, "it is probably not a life in space; a non-material existence is, I imagine, non-spatial." (p. 26). Even Our Lord's resurrected body was non-material except when He, from time to time, assumed matter to convince His disciples that He was alive. If the future life is not in space, is it in time? Here the writer's views are of such interest as shedding light on the teaching of an important school in the Anglican denomination that we must quote them *in extenso*. They show a curious partial return to the teachings of the Catholic Church, once denounced as the worst of superstitions. He writes:—

"Traditional Christian theology would seem to be right in postulating an 'intermediate state' or period during which our souls are purified of the evil within them. In admitting so much, we need not accept the mediaeval doctrine of purgatory, with its theory of penal suffering following upon judgment already pronounced. Judgment will rather be viewed as continuous, as determined by the

struggle for or against God made by the individual will. The inherently destructive nature of evil will corrode and finally destroy the rebellious spirit; while he who in the future life seeks to do the will of God will find salvation through struggle aided by Christ." (p. 28). [And again]—"God is the supreme link of the Universe and it may be that all communications between the dead and the living are conveyed through Him. If this be so, the dead will influence us through their prayers to Him; and we, if we believe that they are still struggling towards final perfection, may aid them by our prayers to God." (p. 33).

Now as to the spirits and their communications: these give no

"hint that Eternal Life is the crowning glory of the future state. Almost invariably they reflect the commonplace thoughts of commonplace minds. They are quantitative, not qualitative; they confuse eternal values and temporal facts. Shall we be wrong if we necessarily conclude that they are earthborn, dreams of fancies of the living men and women through whom they come?" (p. 31).

The writer is quite clear that the communications are not made by evil spirits, and he cannot understand how anyone who has read Richer's *Etudes Cliniques sur l'hystéro-épilepsie*, can retain any belief in diabolical possession, though here it may be interpolated that he would find many of vast experience in the affairs of the soul wholly out of agreement with him. What, then, is his view? First of all he points out, what all but the grossly ignorant knew, that the present outburst of spiritualism so far from being a *New Revelation* is nothing but the repetition of a phenomenon which has occurred time and again in the course of the history of the world. Let matters go a little further, and we may see again the burnings of witches at the stake. "I hold that all the well-attested evidence on which the theory of spirit communication is based will ultimately be explained by a fuller knowledge of the interchange of consciousness between living persons" (p.44). Telepathy, then (in which he is a firm believer), *plus* the trickery of mediums, is the explanation of the phenomena. We are inclined to think that he a little underestimates the evidence; things like levitation for example, cannot be cavalierly ruled out of court, as the late Andrew Lang showed. "Probably the average medium, like all fortune-tellers, is an impostor. Some, however, have genuinely abnormal powers." We agree with both these statements and very largely with his further hypothesis, which has already been ventilated in the pages of STUDIES. The abnormal power is fitful and uncontrollable, yet when the medium is earning his bread by his exhibitions of mediumship there must be an exhibition. Hence a second string is provided and pulled when the genuine thing is not forthcoming. But if this be true, it follows that the phenomena in question *can* be produced by trickery,

and once you admit that, where is your argument for an abnormal force ? Of course the spiritualists do not admit anything of the kind, yet the fact remains that at least a large percentage of mediums have been exposed tricksters. The writer makes the shrewd observation that most of the scientific adherents of spiritualism are physicists, not physicians still less psychologists, and that the doctrines in question have found no adherents amongst the two latter classes of learned men. This is certainly an important fact, though one may remind him that Dr. McDougal (who is both a physician and a psychologist) in his classical work *Soul and Body*, after examining carefully all the evidence, came to the conclusion that after eliminating all trickery, coincidence and the rest, there was a residuum which cannot be explained on the plane of ordinary physics.

No doubt the writer would agree with that statement, and apparently his *mot d'énigme* is telepathy. Well, he may be right ; meantime we welcome this book though it is not the book that we want. What we want is a book on Spiritualism on Catholic lines. It must be written by someone who knows ancient Church history and the history of those old and frightful outbreaks of so-called witchcraft, black magic, the "Devil's Mass," and the like, on the brink of one of which we may now be standing, and who also is deeply versed in the history of spiritualism during the past fifty years. Such a book is very badly wanted ; why tarry the wheels of its chariot ? B. C. A. W.

Miscellaneous.

ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY : A Mediaeval Pilgrimage in Ireland. By St. John D. Seymour, B.D. Dundalk : Dundalgan Press. 1918. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Rev. St. John Seymour has published a distinctly valuable contribution to the history of St. Patrick's Purgatory. As frankly stated in his Preface, he has approached the subject from quite a different viewpoint from Dean O'Connor. He has compiled with much industry the narratives of the various pilgrims who visited this holy retreat between the years 1150 and 1517. He has collated most of the known sources ; but he fails to include the abridgement of Giraldus Cambrensis's *Topography*, written by an Irish Dominican Friar, Philip of Slane, who was promoted Bishop of Cork in 1321 ; and he omits to mention that the "most valuable article" by Father Delehaye, S.J., appeared in an English dress in the *New Ireland Review* for March and April, 1909.

In connection with the narrative of Henry of Saltery it is stated that Florentian "may certainly be identified with Florence O'Carolan, who was placed over the see of Maghera in 1185." It is far more probable that this good bishop was Fogartach O'Carolan, who ruled over Clogher (the diocese in which Lough Derg is situated) from 1185 to 1190. The visit of Donogh mor O'Daly, of Boyle, in 1225, is not alluded to; and it is certain that the Magraths were Stewards of Termon Dabheog nearly a century before "1345." The so-called "monk of Eymstadt" was a Canon of Windesheim of the Monastery of Eemstein. Chiericati's visit is given as "about the year 1515," but it did not take place till 1517. No mention is made of Archbishop Creagh's visit in 1566. The Priory cannot have been "derelict and forsaken for a considerable period, in 1603," inasmuch as Matthew Gray was Prior in 1600. And, finally, Dante's indebtedness to the Irish visions is well put forth by C. S. Boswell in his scholarly book *An Irish Precursor of Dante* (1908), unnoticed by Mr. Seymour.

Yet, as we have said, the present handsomely printed volume is creditable to its author. W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

LES ILES DES BIENHEUREUX. Par Philippe de Félice. Paris: Grasset. 1918. 3 fr. 50.

THE STORY OF ST. PATRICK'S PURGATORY. By Shane Leslie. London and St. Louis: Herder. 1918. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

THE dialogue which gives its name to "Philippe de Félice's" collection of tales and sketches is held by a Greek philosopher with his disciples. Do the Isles of the Blest exist; may they be reached by living human navigators; is their bliss supremely worth attaining; in what does it consist—such are the questions they discuss, and the wise Aristaeus concludes with a discourse through which penetrates the light of dawning Christianity. In the remaining fifteen or sixteen sections we have the world and its ways and possibilities shown to us through the glasses of a legendary, naïf, poetic medievalism. The style has the peculiarly French combination of clearness and charm. The book is altogether restful and *bienfaisant.*

Parallel in many respects, but somewhat less contemplative and more impressionist, more bold and masculine in its drawing and colouring, is the book given us by a brilliant Irish writer on a subject in which he takes a deep personal interest—Lough Derg and its famous Patrician pilgrimage. It consists (as to this the title may

mislead) of an Introduction and of eight tales, some purely fictitious, for which the history of Lough Derg and its purgatory is taken as a basis. They give "a glimpse" [says the author in his preface] "of a very legendary past," and this fact and its perception by the author may excuse what some will deem their somewhat over-romantic and unreal cast. Legend or romance, however, here as often, serve as the attractive setting of some important truths. Admirable (to cite one page out of many) is the description in *The Vision of Dabheoc* of the labours of an old Irish *scriptorium*. It is too long to quote: we can but recommend it, with much else that accompanies it, to all who would like the realities of ancient Ireland to become for them vivid pictures and living memories.

G. O'N.

PRECIS DE PATROLOGIE. Par J. Tixeront. Paris: Librairie Lecoffre. 1917. xi.-514 pages. 6 fr.

THE *Précis de Patrologie* is a history of Patristic literature down to the middle of the eighth century, as far as Greek writers are concerned, and, as regards Latin writers, down to the beginning of the seventh century. These dates mark the end of the period of *ancient* Christian literature.

Strictly speaking, a history of Patristic literature ought to confine itself to the lives and writings of the Fathers of the Church. In the work before us a fairly large amount of space is devoted to heretical writers. But the author in this matter is only following the example of his predecessors in the same field.

M. l'abbé Tixeront disclaims all intention of composing "a ponderous work of erudition." His aim is to produce a book useful, not only to priests and ecclesiastical students, but also to lay people who wish to add some knowledge of ancient Christian literature to their knowledge of profane literature. Furthermore, he intends his book to be useful to "cette armée de jeunes candidats *et candidates* aux brevets d'instruction religieuse." He has carried out his plan very successfully. His book lacks, of course, the completeness of a work of reference. But he has omitted nothing of real interest or importance.

P. B.

THE HAND OF GOD: A Theology for the People. By Martin J. Scott, S.J. New York: Kenedy. 1918. $1.00 net.

THERE is certainly room for simple and popular expositions of Catholic principles written in a manner worthy of the theme. Such

books are needed for enquiring non-Catholics, and will do no harm if they fall into the hands of weak-kneed and under-instructed members of the Church. Unfortunately the gifts required for advocating the Catholic cause are not always conspicuously present in those who undertake the task. We are therefore pleased to be able to praise the *Hand of God* as an exceptionably able and satisfactory production. It does not aim at being a methodical or complete statement of Catholic doctrine ; it is none the less effective because written in a somewhat discursive and disconnected manner. The chapters on " Donation of Money " (for Masses), " Divorce and Re-marriage," " The Unbaptised," and " The Clergyman " are particularly well done. In the chapter entitled " Virtue without Religion " we think more emphasis might have fallen on the distinction between culpable and unculpable unfaith. We recommend the book, and trust it may, like other works by the same author, have the widest possible circulation. H. B.

THE GLAMOUR OF DUBLIN. By D. L. Kay. Dublin : The Talbot Press. 1918. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

OUR metropolis has not lacked of late diligent study and intelligent glorification. The language of poetry has indeed been doing little for it, if we except Susan Mitchell's pathetic reverie on " The Dublin Tenement Houses." But in bright and animated prose Mr. D. L. Kay has grouped round the name and the memorials of Dublin some sixty or seventy pictures from Irish history. They are effectively varied, and some of them take us a good way from Dublin. We range pretty well over Dublin county. Our history is widely sampled ; we get in pagan priests with Rathmines, St. Patrick with Whitworth Bridge, General Ulysses Grant with the City Hall, the Book of Kells and Queen Victoria with Trinity College, Lord Northcliffe with Inchicore, the Sham Squire with Kilbarrock. There are wars and rebellions, of course, and we understand that Mr. Kay has had his troubles with the Censor. He was required, in fact, if we may trust an English weekly paper that printed the offending passage, to delete some lines in which he spoke of the late Patrick Pearse as being, possibly, in the enjoyment of eternal bliss. Whatever may be thought of such indiscretions, there will be, we fancy, no difference of opinion among readers as to the fine literary skill of the book and its power to hold.

G. O'N.

THE INTERDEPENDENCE OF LITERATURE. By Georgina Pell Curtis. London and St. Louis: B. Herder. 1918. 3*s.* net.

Miss Curtis has conceived a bold idea and boldly carried it out. It is nothing less than a view, as far as 160 octavo pages will afford it, of the history of the world's literature. The preface to her achievement is so modest as to disarm criticism. "To sketch in outline a subject that has not, as far as she knows, been treated as an exclusive work by the schoolmen . . . with the hope that a larger and more exhaustive account of a very fascinating subject may some day be published:" so Miss Curtis defines her purpose. But has she not heard of Fr. Baumgartner's monumental *Geschichte der Weltliteratur*? Therein what she regards as a mere futurible has been accomplished with remarkable success. Many, however, have doubted whether Fr. Baumgartner's attempt was a wise one to make—at least on a single-author basis. And concerning Miss Curtis's tabloid history we may entertain a similar doubt, even while allowing that its faults of execution are creditably few.

G. O'N.

Books also received:

Katharine Adams	Light and Mist: A Book of Lyrics. (Cornhill Co., $1.00).
J. Bainvel, S.J.	Is there Salvation outside the Catholic Church? (Herder, 2*s.* 6*d.*).
Trevor T. Berry	An Appreciation of the League of Nations Scheme. (King, 5*s.*).
Aodh de Blacam	Towards the Republic. (Kiersey, 2*s.* 6*d.*).
Josephine Van D. Brownson ...	To the Heart of the Child. (Encyclopedia Press).
Padraic Colum	The Boy who knew what the Birds said. (Macmillan, $1.50).
P. C. Cowan, D.Sc.	Reconstruction: A Trilogy. (Talbot Press, 1*s.*).
C. G. Crump	The Logic of History. (S. P. C. K., 8*d.*).
Enid M. Dinnis	Mystics All. (Sands, 4*s.*).
Darrell Figgis	Byeways of Study. (Talbot Press, 4*s.* 6*d.*).
M. Darrell Figgis	A Short Plot. (Maunsel, 6*d.*).
Robin Flower	Hymenaea and other Poems. (Selwyn and Blount, 3*s.* 6*d.*).
L. Fogarty, B.A.	James Fintan Lalor. (Talbot Press, 5*s.*).
Moireen Fox	Liadain and Curithir. (Blackwell, 2*s.* 6*d.*).
Edward F. Garesche, S.J. ...	Your Eternal Interests. (Benziger, $0.75). War Mothers: A Book of Verse. (Benziger).
Arthur B. Gilbert	American Cities: Their Methods of Business. (Macmillan, $1.50).
Caroline Giltinan	The Divine Image: A Book of Lyrics. (Cornhill Co., $1.25).
F. H. Hayward, D.Litt. ...	The Spiritual Foundations of Reconstruction. (King, 10*s.* 6*d.*).
J. Arthur Hill	Spiritualism. (Cassell, 9*s.*).
L. G. Redmond-Howard ...	Ireland: The Peace Conference and the League of Nations. (Kiersey, 3*s.* 6*d.*).

W. R. Inge, D.D. ... ... The Philosophy of Plotinus. (Longmans, 28*s.*).
T. W. Kerrigan ... ... Malachi's Daughter: An Historcial Irish Drama. (Duffy, 1*s.* 6*d.*).
Armin H. Koller, Ph.D. ... The Theory of Environment, Part 1. (George Banta Publishing Co.).
Randal N. Lamb ... ... The Spur, Charity: Two Plays. (Duffy, 1*s.*).
Stephen McKenna ... ... Midas and Son. (Methuen, 8*s.*).
Margaret Mackenzie ... The Station Platform and other Poems. (Sands, 2*s.* 6*d.*).
A. H. McNeile, D.D. ... The Increase of God. (Longmans, 3*s.* 6*d.*).
Edward McNulty ... ... Mrs. Mulligan's Millions: A Comedy. (Maunsel, 1*s.*).
N. Marlowe (*Editor*) ... Collected Writings of James Fintan Lalor. (Maunsel, 1*s.*).
John Masefield ... ... Collected Poems and Plays. 2 vols. (Macmillan, $2.75 each).
Theodore Maynard ... Carven from the Laurel Tree. (Blackwell, 3*s.* 6*d.*)
P. S. O'Hegarty ... ... Sinn Fein: An Illumination. (Maunsel, 2*s.* 6*d.*).
Frederick Palmer ... ... America in France. (Murray, 7*s.* 6*d.*).
K. F. Purdon ... ... Dinny of the Doorstep. (Talbot Press, 6*s.*).
Dorothy Una Ratcliffe ... The Dales of Arcady. (MacDonald, 3*s.* 6*d.*).
Bertrand Russell ... ... Roads to Freedom. (Allen and Unwin, 7*s.* 6*d.*).
Mother St. Paul ... ... Meditations on Our Lady. (Longmans, 3*s.* 6*d.*).
Holden E. Sampson ... Theou Sophia. (Kegan Paul, 8*s.* 6*d.*).
W. R. Sorley, D.Litt. ... Moral Values and the Idea of God. (Cambridge University Press, 16*s.*).
W. D. Strappini, S.J. ... Meditations without Method. (Longmans, 5*s.*).
John Todhunter ... ... From the Land of Dreams. (Talbot Press, 4*s.* 6*d.*)
Roland G. Usher, Ph.D. ... The Pilgrims and their History. (Macmillan, $2.00).
H. J. White, D.D. ... ... Selections from the Vulgate. (S.P.C.K., 9*d.*).
James A. Wightman ... The Magic Horsehair. (Talbot Press, 3*s.* 6*d.*).
S. Waywod, O.F.M. ... The New Canon Law. (Herder, 16*s.*).
Twelve Poets. (Selwyn and Blount, 5*s.*).
The Drift to Revolution. (Headley, 1*s.*).
Pierre Batiffol ... ... Etudes de Liturgie et d'Archéologie. (Gabalda, 4fr. 80).
Leçons sur la Messe. (Gabalda, 4fr. 80).
Georges Deherme ... ... Penser pour agir. (Grasset, 3fr. 50).
Paul Dudon ... ... L'Action de Benoît XV. pendant la Guerre. (Beauchesne, 1fr.).
Eugene Duplessy ... ... L'Existence de Dieu. (Bonne Presse, 0fr. 60).
Mgr. Albert Farges ... Comment on constate une guérison miraculeuse. (Bonne Presse, 0fr. 20).
L. de Laborie ... ... Correspondances du siècle dernier. (Beauchesne, 4fr.).
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D. Roland-Gosselin ... Louis Veuillot à Rome. (Bonne Presse, 2fr.).
Joseph de Tonquedec ... Voilà votre Mère. (Beauchesne, 0fr. 90).
Romans Populaires, Nos. 69, 70, 71. (Bonne Presse, 0fr. 40 le volume).
Tableau Général de la Richesse allemande présenté par la Dresdner Bank (Berlin), 1913. Edition commentée par M. Lucien Hubert. (Grasset, 1fr. 50).

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